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Hidden in History: Examining Asian American Elementary Teachers' Enactment of Asian American History

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Hidden in History: Examining Asian American Elementary Teachers' Enactment of Asian American History

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Mohammad and Ruth Villamayor Naseem, who always wanted me to become a doctor. You never specified what kind. I also dedicate this to my beloved daughters, Lucia and Sofia Rodríguez. Behind every paragraph and citation are memories of Lucia wanting a sticky note to write on and Sofia singing and knocking on my bedroom door late at night while I worked.

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Hidden in History: Examining Asian American Elementary Teachers' Enactment of Asian American History

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Compared to other groups of color, Asian Americans are arguably the most invisible ethnoracial group in the traditional narrative of U.S. history that pervades K-12 schooling. In contemporary scholarship about teachers of color, Asian Americans are also largely ignored. This qualitative case study examined how three Asian American elementary teachers enacted Asian American historical narratives in their classrooms through an Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit) framework, with particular attention to their understanding of the dominant narrative of history, their use of Asian American children's literature, and their conceptualizations of citizenship. The teachers' racialized and hybrid experiences as 1.5 and second generation immigrants deeply informed their approaches to teaching Asian American history through multiple interpretations of resistance to the dominant narrative. This study revealed the complexity of teaching more critically conscious histories of groups that have long been excluded from social studies textbooks while demonstrating the transformative possibilities of such work with diverse young students.

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This is for you
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This is for you
My people
This
Is for
Us.

For Us, Bao Phi

Although citizenship is embedded in schooling in various ways, many scholars argue that the primary purpose of the social studies is citizenship education (Boyle-Baise & Zevn, 2009; Dewey, 1916). Citizenship education typically aims to incorporate traditional ideals of democracy such as public agency, citizen action, and practical politics (Parker, 2003), but due to growing global diversity must evolve to prepare students "to function in their ethnic and cultural communities and beyond their cultural borders and to participate in the construction of a national civic culture that is a moral and just community that embodies democratic ideals and values" (Banks, 2001, p. 6). However, in elementary classrooms, citizenship education often manifests as patriotic rituals such as reciting the Pledge of Allegiance and learning about American symbols and heroes (Barton & Levstik, 2009; Westheimer, 2006, 2007; Wineburg & Monte-Sano, 2008). These hollow practices are part of the larger official narrative of American history,

which is centered on themes of American progress and exceptionalism and largely ignores moments of conflict, racism, and injustice (VanSledright, 2008).

Contrary to the official narrative, the history of civic identity in the United States does not reflect the American creed (Myrdal, 1944) of inclusion and equality. For the majority of U.S. history, American laws declared at least two-thirds of the domestic adult population legally ineligible for full citizenship based on race, nationality, or gender (Smith, 1997). Even as legal citizenship and naturalization became accessible to various groups over time, widespread political and economic disenfranchisement greatly affected the ability of many individuals to engage in full democratic participation. Asian Americans[1] have a particularly contentious civic history as they were the first and only immigrant group for whom legislation was crafted for their specific exclusion. In spite of a long history of immigration and contributions to U.S. society that some trace as early as the 1587 arrival of Filipinos in Morro Bay, California, Asian Americans continue to face troubling exclusion from politics, upper-level corporate careers, and educational discourse among other areas (Fong, 2008), where they are seen as forever foreigners (Tuan, 1998) who are not truly a part of American society.

ASIAN AMERICANS IN EDUCATION

Stereotypes like the model minority further complicate the racial positioning of Asian Americans in society and especially in schools. The model minority stereotype emerged from two nationally published articles in 1966 lauding Japanese and Chinese

[1] Asian American will be used in this paper to describe any persons of Asian descent who are living in America, whether they are immigrants or fourth generation Americans. Asian will be used to describe individuals residing in Asia.

Americans for their persistence in overcoming hardship and discrimination to achieve academic success (Zhou, 2004). On the heels of the 1964 Watts riots and the Moynihan report (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965) about Black pathology (Holt, 2010; Marable, 1991), these articles "heralded the supposed independence of the Asian in comparison to the blacks" (Prashad, 2000) and attributed Asian American academic and financial success to "hard work, family solidarity, discipline, delayed gratification, nonconfrontation, and… eschewing welfare" (Zhou, 2004, p. 357). However contemporary scholars have argued the model minority myth is considered a tool of oppression that causes dual harm by denying the existence of present and past discrimination against Asian Americans and legitimizing the oppression of other racial minorities and poor whites[2] (Chang, 1993; Lee, 1996).

Regardless, current statistics on Asian American student academic performance perpetuate the model minority stereotype as large-scale data offer compelling evidence of Asian American success. However, Asian American student achievement data are often aggregated, masking tremendous differences across Asian ethnic groups (Ngo & Lee, 2007). For instance, since 1965 multiple waves of Asian immigrants and refugees arrived in the U.S. with widely varying levels of educational attainment. Southeast Asians (Hmong, Lao, Cambodian, and Vietnamese) tend to arrive in the U.S. as refugees or children of refugees with education and income levels in great disparity to East and South

[2] Drawing from the work of critical race legal scholar Neil Gotanda, I consciously leave white lowercase while capitalizing Black. Despite its use as the dialectical opposite of Black, white has historically and contemporarily summarized racial domination and "is better left in lower case, rather than privileged with a capital letter. 'Black,' on the other hand, has deep political and social meaning as a liberating term, and, therefore, deserves capitalization" (Gotanda, 1991, p. 4). Therefore white will only be capitalized in this paper when used in direct citation and Black will be used in lowercase only in direct citation.

Asian immigrants who frequently arrive with higher levels of education and professional degrees (Ngo, 2006). When teachers are not privy to distinctions such as these, they may assume that all Asian American students are academically inclined. Moreover, teachers may attribute students' silence in the classroom to cultural differences rather than learning difficulties (Ngo & Lee, 2007; Pang, Han & Pang, 2011). Statistics demonstrate Asian Americans underrepresentation in special education programs, which may be attributed to widespread belief in the model minority myth (Watanabe, 1998).

Overall, the pitting of "model" Asian American students against other students of color "erases the experiences of Asian Americans who do not achieve and also the experiences of African Americans, Latinas/Latinos, and Native Americans who do achieve" (Ng, Lee & Pak, 2007, p. 99), serving as a hegemonic device within the classroom. Aside from their selective portrayal as victims of affirmative action and in conversations that aim to provide cultural explanations for the academic disparity among students of color in American schools, Asian Americans are rarely found in the national discourse on educational equity. "In many cases," argues Teranishi (2010), their inclusion "does not help in the final conclusion, which is ultimately about the ways in which Blacks and Latinos are deficient compared to Whites" (p. 13). These are but a few examples of the marginalization of Asian Americans in U.S. educational contexts, even in discussions about issues pertaining to students of color.

WRESTLING WITH PANETHNIC LABELS

Scholars have identified the multiple challenges of panethnic labels such as Asian American. First, Espiritu (1992) defines a panethnic group as "a politico-cultural

collectivity made up of peoples of several, hitherto distinct, tribal or national origins" (p. 2) that is largely a product of categorization. Panethnic terms like African American, Latinx[3], Native American, and Asian American are widely used in the United States but mask incredible in-group diversity in class, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, education, historical experiences, and reasons for immigration (Espiritu, 1992; Lee, 2015). Unlike Native Americans, who trace their descent to a unique relationship to the land, and Latinx, who may share a common language, Asian Americans do not share a common culture or other readily identifiable symbols of ethnicity (Espiritu, 1992). Shankar (1998) adds,

> Although Asians *in Asia* have been molded by similar historic currents and perhaps share some distinctive traits that set them apart from people from other continents, Asians *in America* are quite differentiated from one another, largely as a result of differing relationships between their home countries and the United States. (p. ix)

Consequently, there is no singular or uniform Asian American experience and "panethnicity is situationally defined, strategically deployed for political ends, and subject to competing influences" (Omi, 1996, p. 21). Tuan (1998) recognizes Asian Americans as "Asian ethnics," noting the distinction in how Asians typically *define themselves* in ethnic terms but may find themselves *defined by others* in generically racial terms like Asian American. Thus, ethnicity may be an expression of personal choice for European Americans but not for nonwhite groups in the United States, for whom ethnicity can be coercively imposed, multitiered, and situational. Asian Americans may therefore identify themselves with multiple levels of Asian American ethnicity to meet

[3] Latinx will be used to describe people of Mexican, South American, and Central American ancestry rather than the externally-imposed category of Hispanic unless the latter term is used in direct citation.

situational needs (Espiritu, 1992). For example, I elect to identify racially as Asian American in official documentation but generally self-identify as Pakipina (Pakistani-Filipina). When talking to individuals with intimate knowledge of my parents' homelands, I may use more regionally-specific terminology such as Delhiwalla or Luzon to further distinguish my parents' origin based on language, culture, and traditions.

Second, while panethnic grouping can be problematic in its essentialization, it can also result in subgroup members acting collectively "to protect and to advance their interests... In a political system in which numbers count, this political strength is derived from a unified front rather than from the separate efforts of individual subgroups" (Espiritu, 1992, pp. 13-14). In fact, the term Asian American was coined by activist Yuji Ichioka when he co-founded the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) at the University of California, Berkeley in May 1968. The AAPA deliberately sought to create a political organization composed of multiethnic Asians from a variety of geographical, socioeconomic, class, and immigrant backgrounds where politics united the diverse membership. The AAPA recognized the United States as a racist and exploitative society and affirmed the right of communities of color to self-determination; thus, from its inception the term Asian American was meant to be political, anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and to serve as a banner that Asian Americans could rally behind (Maeda, 2012).

Third, in the 21st century, Asian American is no longer widely used as a political-racial identifier due to several recent trends that have altered its meaning (Philip, 2014). Park (2008) cites the increasing ethnic diversity of Asian Americans, the role of religion in panethnic or racial identity formation, perceptions of the model minority stereotype,

and the second generation experience of the children of immigrants. Regarding the latter trend, Park (2008) argues, "Unlike their parents, the second generation has largely been raised in context where the term *Asian* is normally applied to them" (p. 545), which might encourage adherence to that particular label instead of other descriptors.

Fourth, as panethnicity is used to emphasize the experiences of people in the place where they have migrated (Spickard, 2002), the term Asian American is significant in capturing the similar historical experiences and current issues faced by Asian immigrants and their children, particularly regarding the prejudice, discrimination, and racially motivated violence that hinder their full and open participation in American society (Fong, 2008). Compared to studies that focus on individual groups (i.e., Indian, Korean, Filipino) and tend to circumscribe ethnic experiences, research on panethnic Asian Americans can provide opportunities to compare and contrast the diversity of experience (Hune, 1995) as well as examine linkages related to historical immigrant experiences (Paik, Kula, Saito, Rahman, & Witenstein, 2014).

Finally, in acknowledging the benefits and shortcomings of Asian American as a panethnic term, I must address my decision to use Asian American in lieu of Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI). In the 1970s, the U.S. Census Bureau lumped together Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the same census category. However, "Asian and Pacific Islanders have so little in common culturally and experientially that the lumping has never taken hold" (Spickard, 2002, p. 21) and the Census Bureau designated Pacific Islanders as a separate panethnic group in the 2000 census. Moreover, the conflated terms AAPI, Asian Pacific Islander (API), and Asian Pacific American (APA)

fail to recognize Pacific Islanders as a panethnic group distinct from Asian Americans with their own histories, development, problems, and respective research and policy agendas (Kauanui, 2015) tied to discrete issues of colonialism, land, sovereignty, and political decolonization (Hau'ofa, 1994). As this study's teacher participants did not identify as Hawai'ian or Pacific Islander nor did the teachers' instruction of historical content include the Pacific Islands, I prefer "Asian American" for its accuracy within this study's context rather than more widely used terms such as API, APA, or AAPI. However, as these terms are utilized in much of the extant literature on both panethnicities, I employ them when they are referenced by other scholars and researchers.

DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION & TEACHERS OF COLOR

Democratic citizenship education teaches that diversity is a social fact, a social good, and explains how democracy and diversity require one another (Parker, 2003). Yet the official curriculum[4] found in schools, media, and popular culture provides children with a conflicting message by centering white middle/upper-class, Christian narratives and experiences as the norm (Yosso, 2002). When institutions fail to recognize citizens with diverse identities, they perpetuate majoritarian stories of the dominant class (Fránquiz, Salazar, & DeNicolo, 2011; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). The overwhelming representation of white teachers in schools (Sleeter, 2001) leads to an implicit racialization of the profession and a conflation of professional teacher identity as middle-class and white (Philip & Curammeng, 2015). Consequently, teachers of color negotiate school cultures that mirror societal dynamics (Bonilla-Silva, 2010) and may face subtle

[4] Official, traditional, dominant, and majoritarian will be used interchangeably to describe the mainstream curriculum and historical narrative taught in U.S. schools

racism, racial microaggressions, and discrimination from colleagues, students, and students' parents in school contexts (Endo, 2015; Gordon, 1997; Kohli, 2008; Lee, 2005).

Asian American Teachers

Research on teachers of color overwhelmingly focuses on African American and Latinx educators (Foster, 1993; Irvine, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Monzó & Rueda, 2001; Ochoa, 2007). Similarly, the attention paid to students of color tends to emphasize the needs of African American and Latinx youth, particularly in regard to gaps in learning opportunities. In both cases, Native Americans and Asian Americans are frequently omitted from the conversation. While the invisibility of the former group is tied to a complex history based on erasure and physical separation (Russell, 1999), Asian Americans are often considered "honorary white" through their positioning as the model minority (Ancheta, 2006; Museus, 2014; Tuan, 1998). Research on Asian American teachers is particularly sparse due to their low representation in the field.

Asian Americans currently comprise 1.8% of the U.S. teaching force (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2013) but nearly 5% of students enrolled in public schools (Kena et al., 2015). Comparatively, white teachers represent nearly 82% of public school educators while whites make up 51% of public school students (NCES, 2013). The underrepresentation of Asian American teachers has been theorized by few scholars. Early work by Rong and Preissle (1997) suggested the shortage of Asian American teachers might be related to a preference for occupations in ethnic enclaves, and noted variation in the number of teachers across geographic locations, with less disparity on the West Coast. Gordon (2000) explored the resistance of Asian Americans to pursuing

careers in education and found that respondents cited parental pressure, feelings of personal inadequacy, and fear of working outside their comfort zone as reasons for not entering teaching. A recent study by Poon (2014) indicated that Asian American college students pursued STEM and business fields due to both positive and negative social and familial reinforcement. While the paucity of research begs for further investigation, these studies indicate multiple reasons for the scarcity of Asian American teachers.

For those Asian Americans who do pursue careers in education, challenges may arise due to their racial, linguistic, cultural, religious, and/or gender differences. Asian American teachers report being perceived as cultural representatives, Asian "experts", foreigners, and exotic, sexualized Others (Endo, 2015; Goodwin, Genishi, Asher, & Woo, 1997; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Nguyen, 2008; Sheets & Chew, 2002). However, when critically examining the racialization of Asian Americans, the very presence of Asian American educators "disrupts simplistic analyses of race, racism and power" (Philip & Curammeng, 2015, p. 34) and can open the door to more democratic notions of citizenship and education. For example, some Asian American teachers have created curriculum and counter-narratives around their own and other Asian American histories (Branch, 2004; Goodwin et al., 1997; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Sheets & Chew, 2002) which can nuance and complicate dominant historical narratives.

OVERVIEW OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This research explored how Asian American elementary educators enacted Asian American history, with attention to their use of picture books and their understandings of citizenship. To investigate these notions, I drew upon three major bodies of research for

my conceptual framework. First, Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit) articulates the issues unique to Asian Americans and their understandings of identity and citizenship (Museus, 2014). Drawing from Critical Race Theory (CRT), which recognizes the centrality of race in American society, and CRT applications in the field of education, AsianCrit centers Asian Americans' racial realities in educational contexts with an official curriculum that largely excludes them.

The second frame focuses on problems with dominant narratives of history as presented in schools, the media, and popular culture. For students and teachers of color, the official histories taught in school may contrast with the unofficial histories of the home and private spaces, leading to them "knowing but not believing" the official narrative and "believing but not knowing" unofficial narratives (Wertsch, 2000). Teachers, and in turn their students, may opt to master the official narrative and either appropriate it as their own or resist it in favor of counter-narratives that give voice to traditionally marginalized groups.

The third frame examines the ways curriculum is enacted by teachers. Teachers ultimately decide both the subject matter and experiences that students are exposed to in classroom settings through what Cornbleth (1985) terms the curriculum-in-use. Whether using the dominant narrative as a starting point or presenting content omitted from official histories, teachers make critical decisions about instructional materials and their usage in addition to the ways in which they approach the teaching of history more broadly. A single lesson can be taught in widely varying ways based on teacher

motivation, background knowledge, intent, time, student interest, parent support, administrative input, and many other factors (Ball & Cohen, 1996).

These three frames are used together to examine how three Asian American educators enacted Asian American history in elementary classrooms. As Asian Americans are an underrepresented part of the teaching force as well as a group typically invisible in official school curriculum, this research offers a rare opportunity to explore the possibilities of elementary social studies education as enacted by a small but growing population that continues to be marginalized in multiple ways.

OVERVIEW OF STUDY DESIGN

This study used a qualitative case study methodology (Merriam, 1998). Stake (1995) defines a case as a specific, unique, bounded system. The Asian American elementary teachers involved in this study were bounded by their employment in the same urban Texas school district, which has a low percentage of Asian American students and even lower representation of Asian American teachers. The teachers were purposefully selected due to their Asian heritage and their willingness to diverge from the official curriculum in order to teach lessons about Asian American history. Multiple sources of data were collected for the three Asian American teachers during social studies and related language arts instruction, including video- and/or audio-recordings and observations of classroom lessons, semi-structured interviews, and teacher and student artifacts as well as the observation of an Asian American history professional development offered by the school district. Data was analyzed using descriptive, en vivo,

and axial coding (Saldaña, 2009) to determine emerging themes that provided insight into the following research questions:

1) How do Asian American elementary educators enact Asian American histories in their classrooms?

2) How do Asian American elementary educators enact Asian American histories through the use of picture books?

3) How is this instruction informed by their understandings of citizenship?

All teacher participants were Asian American and the children of Asian immigrants or refugees. The teacher participants' experiences as 1.5/second generation, bi/multilingual children of immigrants are distinct from the majority of white, native-born teachers who are farther removed from the immigrant experience. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) explain,

> Relative to the first generation, the process of ethnic self-identification of second-generation children is more complex and often entails the juggling of competing alliances and attachments. Situated within two cultural worlds, they must define themselves in relation to multiple reference groups (sometimes in two countries and in two languages) and to the classifications into which they are placed by their native peers, schools, the ethnic community, and the larger society. (p. 150)

As adults, the participants had both shared and widely different experiences and memories of school that were tied to the multiple cultural worlds in which they existed. These lived and racialized experiences impacted their instructional and curricular decision-making in a range of ways as they enacted Asian American history with their students over the course of the 2016 spring semester.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

> When someone with the authority of a teacher describes the world and you're not in it, there's a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing.
>
> *Blood, Bread, and Poetry,* Adrienne Rich

The teaching of social studies in U.S. elementary schools began in the nineteenth century and has developed in many ways since (Halvorsen, 2013). First, America is now a multicultural mosaic and there is more educator diversity than ever before, yet the number of teachers of color still fails to match the representation of students of color (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012). Second, despite an increasingly diverse immigrant population over the last fifty years, notions of citizenship continue to exist within traditional bounds of nation-states and legal rights without acknowledging the complex history of citizenship in the United States for many marginalized groups (Lowe, 1996). Third, social studies curriculum remains tethered to EuroAmericancentric narratives of greatness told from a few white male perspectives and does not reflect the diversity of today's students (Levstik & Barton, 2011; VanSledright, 2009). The official histories of school and the people who teach them have been the subject of much scholarship in the field of social studies. This study investigated Asian Americans teachers, a greatly understudied group, as well as how their notions of citizenship inform the ways they enact Asian American histories long omitted from the curriculum.

This literature review is divided into three parts: first, I explore the existing research on teachers of color and Asian American teachers in particular. Second, I examine understandings of citizenship and briefly detail the historical relationship

between race and citizenship for Asian Americans as well as the notion of cultural citizenship. Third, I provide an overview of social studies curriculum with an emphasis on upper elementary education by focusing on the official narratives told in school and mainstream society and the unofficial narratives often relegated to home and private spaces. To contextualize the role of Asian American history in public school classrooms, I describe the current state of Asian Americans in mainstream curriculum, then briefly describe issues related to the teaching of history. Lastly, I address the challenges and possibilities faced by contemporary elementary social studies teachers.

TEACHERS OF COLOR

For teachers of color, the overwhelming presence of Whiteness (Sleeter, 2001) in public schools and teacher education programs may be difficult to navigate; while public school student populations are becoming increasingly diverse (with students of color composing nearly 45% of the school population nationally), over 80% of the U.S. teaching force is white (NCES, 2013, 2015a). The predominance of Whiteness in teacher education (McCarthy, 2003; Picower, 2009) can be silencing to prospective teachers of color in settings where most peers and nearly 80% of the professoriate are white (NCES, 2015b). Various studies reveal dominant and normalized cultures of Whiteness that pervade contemporary teacher education programs (Brown, 2014; Montecinos, 2004; Philip & Benin, 2014; Villegas & Davis, 2007) and may discourage prospective teachers of color from pursuing careers in education (Burant, Quiocho, & Rios, 2002). Teachers of color who enter the workforce often negotiate school cultures that mirror societal dynamics (Bonilla-Silva, 2010) through challenges such as subtle racism (Gordon, 1997;

Kohli, 2008; Lee, 2005), microaggressions (Endo, 2015; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal & Torino, 2007; Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009), and reactive and tense conversations about race (Milner, 2010).

Although the number of teachers of color in the United States has grown slowly over the last fifteen years (NCES, 2013), policymakers and the public continue to call for increased teacher workforce diversity on the grounds of both demographic and democratic imperatives (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012). The *demographic* imperative focuses on the disparity between the racial and cultural backgrounds of students and teachers, with the underlying assumption that it is problematic for students of color and white students alike to experience a primarily white teaching population (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Mercer and Mercer (1986) maintain that when students see adults of color absent in professional roles at school, they implicitly learn that Whites are better suited to hold positions of authority. The *democratic* imperative centers on the failure of schools to serve the educational needs of students of color (popularly known as the achievement gap) while recognizing that teachers of color make a significant difference in the school success of students of color (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012). As teacher identity is built with others in multiple contexts and in fluid ways, many researchers have examined the relationship between the personal and professional lives of teachers of color to better understand how they support students in schools (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012; Milner, 2010; Nieto, 2013; Pang, 2009; Quiocho & Rios, 2000; Villegas & Geist, 2008).

Schools with higher percentages of students of color, typically in urban settings at hard-to-staff institutions, frequently have greater proportions of teachers of color

committed to working with low-income, non-dominant cultural and linguistic communities (Gay, Dingus, & Jackson, 2003; Quiocho & Rios, 2000). However, teachers of color in these schools felt "challenged by culturally subtractive conditions in the schools where they worked and by many of their schools' responses to state and federal accountability policies" (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012, p. 140). In spite of their dedication to work in hard-to-staff schools, they were often unable to teach in ways they felt were best for students' learning and well-being due to the constraints of accountability measures, such as the use of prescriptive curriculum programs and instructional pacing guidelines to improve standardized test performance. Outside of these urban settings, some teachers of color feel they are perceived negatively compared to other teachers (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012; Quiocho & Rios, 2000) and experience greater job dissatisfaction and higher turnover than their white peers (Achinstein, Ogawa, Sexton, & Freitas, 2010; Villegas & Geist, 2008).

There is a growing body of work demonstrating the use of culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogies by teachers of color who may have added insight due to their own experiences in school and society and therefore may hold higher expectations for students of color (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012; Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2002, 2005; Galindo & Olguin, 1996; Irvine, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1994; McAlpine & Taylor, 1993; Nieto, 2013; Pang, 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Research has also demonstrated the importance of caring relationships for teachers of color (Dixson & Dingus, 2008; Foster, 1993; Monzó & Rueda, 2001; Nieto, 1994; Pang, 2006; Villegas & Irvine, 2010) and instances of teachers of color confronting racism in the classroom

(Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2005; Branch, 2004; de los Ríos, 2013; Tintiangco-Cubales, et al, 2015). Additionally, teachers of color may use their cultural expertise to serve as advocates and cultural brokers for students and families (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012; Darder, Rodríguez Ingle, Cox, & Tomás Rivera Center, 1993; Villegas & Irvine, 2010).

For teachers of color, these notions of cultural and linguistic responsiveness may stem directly from their own school biographies. However, in contrast to Lortie's (1975) description of the apprenticeship of observation laying "the basis for traditional, intuitive approaches to teaching" (p. 81), for some teachers of color who faced difficulties in schools themselves, the apprenticeship of observation may result in a transformative conception of teaching to counter their own experiences with discrimination, prejudice, and social-structural subordination. Teachers of color often have a desire to serve as role models for students of color and seek to become change agents in schools (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012; Brown, 2014; Quiocho & Rios, 2000; Su, 1996).

Research on Asian American Teachers

As with research on students of color, the majority of studies on teachers of color focus on African American (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2002; Dixson & Dingus, 2008; Foster, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1994) and Latinx educators (de los Ríos, 2013; Monzó & Rueda, 2001; Nieto, 2013), with negligible attention paid to Native American and Asian American teachers. Asian Americans currently comprise less than two percent of the teaching force (Boser, 2011) and about five percent of students enrolled in public schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015).

In keeping with their underrepresentation in the field, scant educational research has examined reasons for the lack of Asian American teachers. An early study by Rong and Preissle (1997) suggested that the shortage of Asian American teachers might be related to immigration status as most U.S teachers are native-born and nearly three-fourths of Asian Americans are foreign-born (Taylor, 2012). More recent studies (Gordon, 2000; Poon, 2014) found that Asian Americans of the 1.5 or second generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) feel more pressure from their immigrant parents to achieve economic stability and thereby follow more financially lucrative career paths. Gordon (2000) found intense parental pressure, personal inadequacy, fear of working outside a comfort zone, and a view that racial/cultural match between teachers and students was neither valuable nor necessary as reasons given by Asian American undergraduates for not pursuing careers in education. These findings were echoed in broader work by Poon (2014), whose interviews with Asian American undergraduates in a range of majors revealed students tended to pursue careers in STEM- and business-related fields through both positive and negative social reinforcement, with family as a dominant influence. These studies indicate that Asian Americans choose their careers within a complex social context and, unlike other ethnoracial groups, individual and internal motivations have less influence on Asian Americans than external social factors (Poon, 2014).

Sheets and Chew (2002) and Nguyen (2012) critiqued popular studies of teaching by Cattani (2002) and Lortie (1975), which illustrated the pivotal role of socialization in the lives of white teachers but did not address the entry-into-teaching stressors such as race, ethnicity and language faced by Asian American educators (Gordon, 2000; Rong &

Preissle, 1997; Su, 1996). Like research on other teachers of color, studies that spotlight Asian Americans educators have generally done so through a lens of cultural difference, sometimes casting them pan-ethnically (Endo, 2015; Pang, 2009) or focusing on particular ethnic groups and recent immigrants (Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007; Nguyen, 2008; Subedi, 2008) and the ways in which they feel Othered in largely white school contexts (Achinstein & Aguirre, 2008; Endo, 2015; Goodwin et al., 1997; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Nguyen, 2008).

In some cases, Asian American teachers' racial and cultural distinctiveness compared to mostly white faculty is seen as an asset: the teachers themselves feel more aware of cultural values and difference (Kiang, 2004; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Pang, 2009; Sheets & Chew, 2002) and demonstrate greater cultural understanding with students and their parents (Goodwin et al., 1997; Pang, 2009; Ramanathan, 2006). Goodwin et al. (1997) discovered that regardless of the languages spoken by the teachers, Asian parents expressed greater comfort with Asian American teachers while Latino parents seemed to relate to the teachers *through* language, suggesting that "their membership in minority groups has sensitized them to the role of language as a barrier to entering mainstream society and as a key to unlocking children's potential" (pp. 230-231). In these instances, Asian American teachers were able to provide unique interpersonal, cultural, and linguistic supports to students and their families.

While some Asian American teachers bring critically conscious understandings of race to the classroom (Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Nguyen, 2012; Philip, 2014), others felt dismissed when conversations turned to the topic of race, as they did not fit the

Black/white binary (Endo, 2015). Most commonly, studies exposed faculty and student perceptions of Asian American teachers as cultural representatives and experts on all things Asian (Endo, 2015; Goodwin et al., 1997; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Ramanathan, 2006; Sheets & Chew, 2002) who are also often perceived as foreigners (Endo, 2015; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Nguyen, 2008). Schools can be spaces rife with racial microaggressions (Endo, 2015; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012), and in some cases Asian American teachers felt silenced (Sheets & Chew, 2002), isolated or invisible to their peers (Endo, 2015; Nguyen, 2008), and viewed as less competent due to nonstandard English accents (Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Nguyen, 2008, 2012).

Some Asian American teachers, however, found opportunities to develop curriculum around their own and other Asian American histories (Goodwin et al., 1997; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Sheets & Chew, 2002). For example, Branch (2004) examined the practices of a Japanese American sixth grade social studies teacher who facilitated students' ethnic identity development through self-created curriculum, including places and events traditionally omitted in the official narrative of American history, such as the Angel Island immigration station in California and Japanese incarceration during World War II. In Choi's (2013) study, a Korean American high school social studies teacher shifted the curricular focus from typical Eurocentric narratives to global/multicultural citizenship to better address the needs and interests of his newcomer immigrant students.

The paucity of research on Asian American teachers leaves several considerations unresolved. First, most studies of Asian American teachers took place in areas where

there is a critical mass of Asian Americans, predominantly in California and the Pacific Northwest (Nguyen, 2008; Pang, 2009; Sheets & Chew, 2002). These areas with large concentrations of Asian Americans provide markedly different contexts than other parts of the United States where Asian American populations may be lower or more widely dispersed across school districts. In these cases, Asian American teachers may be the only Asian American or teacher of color on the school faculty; indeed, they may be the only Asian American teacher that a student encounters in her K-12 career. Studies of teachers of color in predominantly white suburban settings revealed that the teachers of color are positioned as cultural representatives and experience intergroup tension (Lee, 2012; Mabokela & Madsen, 2003). Similarly, Asian American teachers "east of the West Coast" (Nash, 2008) may have patently contrasting experiences to those located closer to the Pacific. Importantly, the American South (as defined by the U.S. Census) is the area experiencing the fastest growth in Asian populations (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012). These changing demographics demonstrate the need for further research beyond the West Coast where Asians may be racialized and understood in distinct ways (Endo, 2015; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015).

Second, the majority of research on Asian American teachers continues to essentialize the panethnic group by concentrating on female teachers of East and Southeast Asian descent. This focus marginalizes and excludes South Asian American experiences, a significant critique in the field of Asian American studies (Shankar & Srikanth, 1998) that applies to the research on Asian American teachers as well. For example, several studies pointed to the role of Confucian ideals in Asian American

teacher identity (Pang, 2006; Rong & Preissle, 1997; Sheets & Chew, 2002), ignoring the fact that such ideals are not culturally relevant for South Asian Americans and East/Southeast Asian religious minority groups. Further, Asian Americans are generally associated with traditional "Eastern" religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam; such presumptions ignore the growing presence of Protestant evangelicalism and other branches of Christianity among Asian Americans (Park, 2008). Additionally, given the strongly gendered stereotyping of Asians (Endo, 2015; Lee & Vaught, 2003), more in-depth examinations of the male Asian American teacher experience are needed in the field. Research that continues to essentialize Asian American educators fails to recognize the diversity of Asian Americans and succumbs to the pitfalls of panethnicity.

Third, many of the studies are problematic in their omission or assumptions regarding Asian American teachers. Commonly, and perhaps due to issues of low representation, contextual distinctions such as elementary versus secondary teaching, grade level or subject area taught, and school environments (e.g., urban/suburban/rural, socioeconomic status, student demographics) are rarely established or detailed in studies of Asian American teachers. For example, Goodwin et al.'s (1997) study did not distinguish which participants taught in elementary schools or in high schools nor whether the school contexts were public, private, urban, or suburban. Second, at least one study promoted problematic stereotypes like the model minority. Rong and Preissle (1997) stated that Asian Americans represent an important source of potential teachers due to their strong performance in math and science; while this statement effectively perpetuates the model minority myth through its failure to examine the immigration and

family structures that lead to such characterizations, it also suggests that Asian American teachers of math and science might be better received than Asian American teachers of non-STEM subjects, such as drama or literature. Third, some studies forwarded assumptions that all Asian Americans speak languages other than English; while the Asian American teachers studied by Goodwin et al. (1997) and Nguyen (2012) were perceived as more competent with linguistically diverse learners due to assumptions of presumed foreignness and thereby greater facility with languages other than English, it is important to recognize that not all Asian Americans speak multiple and/or Asian languages. Greater attention to school contexts (e.g., subject taught, student populations) can better facilitate understanding about the successes and challenges faced by Asian Americans teachers and thereby inform teacher education and teacher recruitment.

Lastly, most studies of Asian American teachers have not delved into teachers' use of Asian American as a political-racial identity (Philip, 2014). Although the term originated during the height of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and 1970s, its history is unknown to many younger Asian Americans as it is now often utilized as a de-politicized racial label. Due to the invisibility of Asian Americans and their (hi)stories in the curriculum, Asian American teachers may be unaware of their racialization in the United States and/or to the invisible norms of whiteness that are pervasive in society (Philip & Curammeng, 2015). By acknowledging Asian American racialization and "[r]eturning to the roots of the API movement" (Philip & Curammeng, 2015, p. 34), Asian American educators can explore political identities for social justice teaching. Such

notions of transformative praxis foster solidarity among people of color and can ultimately lead to anti-racist and thereby more truly democratic education.

Asian American Intersectionality

Delgado and Stefancic (2012) define intersectionality as "the examination of race, sex, class, national origin, and sexual orientation, and how their combination plays out in various settings" (p. 57). When individuals occupy more than one of these categories, they "operate at an intersection of recognized sites of oppression" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 57). Crenshaw (1989) first theorized intersectionality in regard to the discrimination faced by Black women, contesting the dominant view that "a discriminator treats all people within a race or sex category similarly" (p. 150) by recognizing experiential and statistical variation within groups and noting the implicit privileging of both Whiteness and maleness. Scholars of varying traditions have taken up this work in earnest, especially feminists looking to explore the complexity of women's lives in multiple disciplines (Berger & Guidroz, 2009). For example, Anzaldúa's (1987) notion of the new *mestiza* addressed geographic and metaphorical borders and their *choques*, or cultural collisions, in regard to gender, sexuality, language, class, and other life experiences. Many Chicana scholars have extended intersectionality by drawing from Anzaldúa's conceptions of *mestizaje* and *nepantla*, that space in which individuals exist between worlds, to articulate different ways of knowing as well as individual and collective expressions of being (Arredondo, 2003; Huber, 2010; Mora, 1993).

In particular, Asian American women have long been fetishized and objectified in the West (Said, 1978) in ways which continue to lead to distorted, problematic, and

unrealistic expectations of Asian American females through racialized sexualization (Lee & Vaught, 2003). In Endo's (2015) study of Asian American female teachers, all ten participants experienced some manner of exotification and racialized sexualization in their school workplaces and were disturbed by the lack of professional boundaries demonstrated by their colleagues. During a focus group, one participant asked, "Would we be treated like this if we were White women?" She and the other teachers interpreted others' sexualization of them as related to directly to their race *and* gender.

Among Asian American men, a different set of stereotypes persist. For example, from 1850 until the 1940s, Chinese immigrant masculinity was "socially and institutionally marked as different from that of Anglo- and Euro-American 'white' citizens owing to the forms of work and community that had been historically available to Chinese men" (Lowe, 1996). The concentration of Chinese men in "feminized" service-sector jobs in laundries and restaurants coupled with the relative absence of wives and families resulting in immigrant "bachelor" communities led to stereotypes of Chinese, and often other Asian men by association, as feminine and deviant (Lowe, 1996). Sexualized stereotypes persist today as Asian American men are frequently described as hyposexual, impotent beings (Chou, 2012). Such racialized sexualization, suggests Chou (2012), is imposed upon Asian American men and women as a manipulative mechanism to maintain White hegemonic masculinity.

These examples illustrate how "we cannot isolate 'race' from 'gender' without reproducing the logic of domination" (Lowe, 1996, p. 74), but intersectionality extends beyond these two constructs in ways that deeply affect Asian Americans in all sectors of

life. Another example of an intersection faced by many Asian Americans in addition to race and gender is language. Schools and other dominant institutions "promote the notion of an overarching, homogenous standard language which is primarily white, upper middle class, and midwestern" (Lippi-Green, 2011, p. 65) which in turn devalues language that is not politically, culturally, or socially mainstream while maintaining the social and linguistic values of the dominant institution. In spite of the absence of an official language in the United States, "power and authority in language are tied inextricably to education and literacy" (Lippi-Green, 2011, p. 61), sometimes in contrast to the values of families and local networks.

Mora (1993) argues that language shapes as well as reflects reality, and its exploration allows people to see and explore their world anew. Thus when people are devalued and stigmatized for speaking nonstandard languages (e.g., African American Vernacular English, Spanglish), particularly in school settings, non-English language knowledge or marked accents can become a source of shame (Nguyen, 2012). The subordination of languages other than English can be a painful process that may lead to complicity for social acceptance and survival – *Americans speak English, if you don't want to learn English, go back to where you came from* – and remains a powerful trope today (Anzaldúa, 1987; Lippi-Green, 2011). For many Latinx and Asian Americans, language knowledges are deeply tied to race, immigration history, and identity.

Given the complexity inherent in panethnic grouping, intersectional approaches emphasize the "heterogeneity, hybridity, and multiplicity" (Lowe, 1996) of individuals and communities. Yuval-Davis (2006) further explained that "intersecting social

divisions cannot be analysed as items that are added up but, rather, as constituting each other" (p. 200): to be a Filipina American is different if you are working-class or middle-class, immigrant or third generation, multilingual or monolingual, young or old, gay or straight. Coloma (2006), Lee (2006) and others have called for the use of intersectional frameworks to examine the ways in which Asian American identity goes beyond ethnicity, intersecting with English language proficiency, gender, class, sexuality, and generational status, in institutions that regularly position Asian American teachers as Others (Lei, 2006). For Asian immigrant communities in particular, race, class, and gender/sexuality do not suffice in presenting their dynamic perspectives or experiences – articulations regarding immigrant generation, language, religion, and histories of colonialism and domination (among many others) are essential to critically understand their life conditions (Coloma, 2006; Lee, 2006; Lowe, 1996). Intersectionality rejects notions of universal experience by considering how multiple social constructs position individuals differently in ways that may exacerbate oppression and domination.

CITIZENSHIP

The need to prepare students for citizenship in our democracy is a key argument for public education (Barton & Levstik, 2009; Dewey, 1916; Parker, 2003). How this is done, however, remains inconsistent and contested. More often than not, citizenship education is relegated to performing responsible acts within a community (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), learning mainstream civic knowledge such as the three branches of government (Parker, 2003), and telling simplistic and often inaccurate tales of great American heroes (Kohl, 1994). Schools ignore complex and inclusive renditions of

citizenship and instead present narrow, simplified constructions that ultimately leave many students feeling detached and unrecognized (Parker, 2003; Taylor, 1994). This section begins with several major frames of citizenship commonly addressed in educational settings followed by a brief historical overview of Asian American citizenship. Lastly, I explore various understandings of cultural citizenship and how these notions have been approached in classroom settings.

Scholars have presented multiple understandings of citizenship. For example, in an essay investigating citizenship over three centuries, Marshall (1977) outlined three components of citizenship: civil (legal), political, and social. Civil citizenship developed first as individual rights to liberty, freedom of speech, equality before the law, and the right to own property. Political citizenship is the "right to participate in the exercise of political power" (p. 94) – a right initially granted only to White men of property in the United States that emerged in the eighteenth century. Lastly, social citizenship includes a broader range of rights, "from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall, p. 94). Westheimer & Kahne's (2004) widely-cited analysis of democratic education programs determined three types of citizenship: personally responsible, participatory, and justice oriented. Of these three "kinds of citizens," personally responsible and participatory were most common in citizenship education with their emphasis on acting responsibly, building character, and participating in the community.

In contrast, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) offered two dominating citizenship

discourses, civic republican and liberal. Civic republican discourse is based on a strong political community that requires identification with and commitment to the political community's goals; it is focused on commonality, consensus, and unity. Liberal citizenship, on the other hand, is a discourse of individual liberty; as such, it is centered on equality, especially for historically marginalized or oppressed groups, and is reflective of the multicultural citizenship notions furthered by scholars like Kymlicka (1995).

Given the complexity of citizenship construction, scholars have pushed for more critical and transnational discourses of citizenship to better address issues of identity, membership, and agency (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Flores & Benmayor, 1997; Rosaldo, 1994). In schools, liberal discourses of citizenship emphasize "the deliberative values of discussion, disagreement, and consensus building—all viewed as essential to democratic societies" (Abowitz and Harnish, p. 663) and thereby to democratic education (Dewey, 1916; Hess & McAvoy, 2014; McAvoy & Hess, 2013; Parker, 2003). Yet both liberalism and civic republicanism originated in racial exclusion (Volpp, 2001). Critics therefore argue that citizenship has been ethnically and culturally normed with an emphasis on assimilation that does not represent the realities of people of color (Flores & Benmayor, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 2004). Among marginalized groups, one question is implicit in any discussion of citizenship: *Who* is entitled to claim citizenship? (Bosniak, 2000).

Kymlicka (1995) problematized several typologies of citizenship in relation to culturally distinct immigrants and other groups who have historically been excluded from full participation in national culture, including Blacks, women, religious minorities, and homosexuals. These groups, Kymlicka (1995) maintained, "have been excluded from full

participation not because of their socio-economic status but because of their socio-cultural identity—their 'difference'" (p. 180). For example, although the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo established Mexican eligibility for citizenship in 1848, citizenship was inextricably linked to Whiteness and therefore skin color and "common sense" (i.e., looking "Indian") often trumped the treaty's guarantee to Mexicans on naturalization applications and in court (Molina, 2014). In the case of African Americans who were conferred full legal citizenship after the Civil War, civic estrangement occurred as they were politically disenfranchised and marginalized in the collective memory, monuments, narratives, and images of the past that constituted, reproduced, and promoted the American national identity (Tillet, 2012). In short, the United States has a long history of exclusionary and marginalizing practices coupled with legislation surrounding citizenship that functioned to maintain a racial hierarchy. Citing the racial prerequisite for citizenship that endured for more than 150 years (Haney López, 1996), Ladson-Billings (2004) contends, "the establishment of White supremacy is a major feature of U.S. citizenship and is an ideological organizing principle for the nation" (p. 110).

Asian American Citizenship

For Asian Americans, race is a "site of struggle for cultural, economic, as well as political membership in the United States" (Lowe, 1996, p. ix). Asians are the only group for whom legislation was crafted to exclude their entry into the United States and the only group legally rendered "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (Naturalization Act of 1870). In 1790, Congress passed the first naturalization law limiting citizenship rights to only "free white persons"; after the Civil War, citizenship was extended to people of

African descent and naturalization laws were amended to include "aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." Yet the Naturalization Act of 1870 that secured the naturalization of African immigrants and former slaves also specified the Chinese as the only group of aliens ineligible for citizenship (Maltz, 1994).

The growing Chinese labor force in the second half of the eighteenth century was borne out of desperate peasantry in the aftermath of China's Second Opium War as well as heavy recruitment on behalf of American capitalists seeking cheap, exploitable labor, especially to complete the transcontinental railroad (Hsu, 2015). But when Chinese labor grew large enough that it threatened capital accumulation by whites, organized efforts toward Chinese exclusion began as economic interests diverged. Lowe (1996) explains, "by excluding and disenfranchising the Chinese in 1882, the state could constitute the 'whiteness' of the citizenry and granted political concessions to 'white' labor groups who were demanding immigration restrictions" (p. 13) by reconfirming the 1790 bars to citizenship and naturalization. While Chinese immigrants were prohibited from citizenship through provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Act, according to the Fourteenth Amendment, their American-born children were guaranteed citizenship. This right was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1898 with *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, although the dissents in the seven-to-two decision emphasized popular notions of the unassimilability of the Chinese, citing the presence of blood lines as an indicator of their immutable foreignness (Lowe, 1996). Moreover, the decision likely did not represent a significant shift in the acceptance of Chinese as citizens (Volpp, 2005) as all Chinese

immigrants and Chinese Americans were still required to carry certificates of identity to demonstrate their legal residence in the United States (Lee, 2015).

After Chinese Exclusion, the numbers of Japanese and Sikh Indian laborers increased along the West Coast at the turn of the century followed by Koreans and Filipinos (Lee, 2014). Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans were collapsed into a single yellow "Oriental," or "Mongoloid" racial identity, Filipino laborers who followed in the early 1900s were categorized as "Malay" or brown, and Asian Indians identified as Aryan or Caucasian (Gotanda, 2010; Sohoni, 2007). Many Asian immigrants made legal arguments to disassociate from the "Yellow" race in order to gain citizenship; some succeeded[5], but two Supreme Court decisions overturned these rare successes and were pivotal in determining the race –and thereby access to citizenship—of Asians in the United States: *Ozawa v. United States* (1922) and *United States v. Thind* (1923).

In *Ozawa v. United States*, Japanese-born and American-educated Takao Ozawa's counsel argued that white meant *not* Black. Invoking both science and popular knowledge (Haney López, 1996), the Supreme Court found, in Justice Sutherland's unanimous opinion,

> "color," meaning the lightness or darkness of skin pigmentation, as a racial test, to be "[m]anifestly... impracticable, as that differs greatly among persons of the same race, even among Anglo-Saxons, ranging by imperceptible gradations from the fair blond to the swarthy brunette, the latter being darker than many of the lighter hued persons of the brown or yellow races." (*Ozawa v. United States,* 206 U.S. 178 at 197)

[5] Federal courts heard 25 cases challenging the racial prerequisite to citizenship between 1887 and 1923. Syrians, Armenians, and Asian Indians were admitted to citizenship in eight cases between 1908 and 1923 (Ngai, 1999).

Justice Sutherland cited *In re Ah Yup* (1878), where the California circuit court ruled that Chinese-born Ah Yup could not naturalize because he was of the "Mongolian" race and therefore not Caucasian. As a member of the "Yellow" race, Ozawa could not be considered White.

A few months later, the Court heard the case of Indian immigrant Bhagat Singh Thind. Thind, a high caste Hindu, attempted to use the widely-accepted racial science of ethnology and physical anthropology to prove his membership in the Caucasian or Aryan race[6] (Gotanda, 1991). In a reversal of the *Ozawa* decision, the Court rejected the role of science in racial assignments (Haney López, 1996), stating, "the words 'free white persons' are words of common speech, to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man" (*United States v. Thind,* 261 U.S. 204, at 214-215). Further, the Court held that the framers of the law intended "to include only the type of man whom they knew as white . . . [those] from the British Isles and northwestern Europe . . . bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh" (*United States v. Thind,* 261 U.S. 204, at 19) and such understandings of Whiteness could only be extended to other European immigrants who were "unquestionably akin to those already here and readily amalgamated with them" (*United States v. Thind,* 261 U.S. 204, at 211). This decision acknowledged the assimilability of southern and eastern Europeans in contrast to the inalterable foreignness and subsequent unassimilability of Asians (Ngai, 1999).

[6] While *U.S. v. Thind* (1923) is well-known, in *In re Bhagat Singh Thind* (1920) the District Court of Oregon initially granted citizenship to Thind. The U.S. Supreme Court overruled this decision in 1923 when it created a geographically-bounded category of "whites" ineligible for citizenship (Sohoni, 2007).

Therefore, as Haney López (1996) argues, "the courts constructed the bounds of whiteness by deciding on a case-by-case basis who was *not* white"; not establishing "the parameters of whiteness so much as the non-whiteness of Chinese, South Asians, and so on" (p. 779). These prerequisite cases showed "that whites exist not just as the antonym of nonwhites but as the *superior* antonym" (Haney López, 1996, p. 780) and insisted on the unassimilability of Asians. No matter how committed Asians were to American ideals and practicing American customs, they were foreign-born, racially unassimilable, and thereby sufficiently alien to be denied citizenship (Gotanda, 2010, Ngai, 1999).

Although the *Ozawa* and *Thind* cases applied only to Japanese and South Asians, "the Court made a leap in racial logic to apply the rule of ineligibility to citizenship to Koreans, Thais, Vietnamese, Indonesians, and other peoples of Asian countries" (Ngai, 1999, p. 85) and applied the rule of ineligibility to citizenship to natives of all Asian countries in the last paragraph of *Thind*. These Supreme Court rulings, along with the Immigration Act of 1924 that prohibited Japanese immigration and barred the entry of women from China, Japan, Korea and India while allowing thousands of Europeans to immigrate, completed the legal construction of "Asiatic" as a racial category based both on nationality and "common knowledge" (Ngai, 1999).

When Congress finally voted to repeal Chinese exclusion in 1943 after nearly sixty years, it was done to keep Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese government as an ally in the war against Japan. The next year, bills were passed on the eve of Philippine independence that effectively dismantled the Asiatic Barred Zone. These efforts during World War II had more symbolic value than demographic effect as the visa quota for

Asian countries was still severely restricted; however, they can be interpreted as an ideological statement that signaled the erosion of white supremacy as a national doctrine (Lee, 2007). While the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act repealed measures excluding Asian immigrants, it continued a legal pattern of discrimination by limiting Asian nations to a quota of 100 visas a year based on *race*, not nationality, which kept Asian immigration very low. Although the McCarran-Walter Act finally abolished race as a criterion for naturalized citizenship, the age of Asian exclusion did not end until 1965 (Lee, 2015).

As with other marginalized groups, changing historical conceptions of race continue to disrupt Asian Americans' ability to function and be identified as U.S. citizens. In the American imagination, to be Asian American means to act according to fundamentally different cultural dictates regardless of legal status or political activity (Volpp, 2001) that render individuals unassimilable and immutably foreign. However, with this distinct Othering comes possibility:

> The specific history of Asian immigration in relation to U.S. citizenship is different from the histories of other migrant or racialized groups, such as African Americans, Native Americans, and Chicanos/Latinos, yet the Asian American critique of citizenship generated by its specific history opens the space for such cross-race and cross-national possibilities. One of the important *acts* that the immigrant performs is breaking the dyadic, vertical determination that situates the subject in relation to the state, building instead horizontal community with and between others who are in different locations subject to and subject of the state. (Lowe, 1996, pp. 35-36, emphasis in original)

Asian American culture is situated to generate "other narratives of the self and community that do not look to the state/citizen bind as the ultimate construction of sociality" (Chakrabarty, 1992, p. 10) and thereby formulate newer, more applicable citizenship discourses.

Cultural Citizenship

The principle of equal citizenship has become universally accepted in the United States and American public schools; yet as illustrated, Asian Americans along with African Americans and Latinx have historically been denied access to political citizenship and the privileges conferred by it (Gotanda, 2010; Haney López, 1996; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Volpp, 2011). Consequently, racially and ethnically marginalized groups are "simultaneously perceived as less than fully American and have been structurally excluded from accessing their rights as members of this society to full economic, social, cultural, and political participation" (Abu El-Haj, 2007, p. 310). To address this "uneven field of structural inequalities" (Rosaldo, 1997, p. 37), Rosaldo (1997) forwarded the notion of cultural citizenship, which "attends, not only to dominant exclusions and marginalizations, but also to subordinate aspirations for and definitions of enfranchisement" (p. 37) that reflect the historical experience of civil rights and suffrage struggles faced by people of color. As racial minorities have often been Othered in ways that result in them being "neither thought of nor treated as Americans… cultural citizenship is a process that involves claiming membership in, and remaking, America" (Rosaldo & Flores, 1997, p. 58). Although Rosaldo initially forwarded cultural citizenship in terms of the Latino experience, the complexities it presents regarding immigration status, language, and racialization easily extend to Asian Americans.

Rosaldo's (1997) view of cultural citizenship, with its emphasis on the agency of marginalized groups in establishing and asserting human, social, and cultural rights to enfranchise themselves, is highly localized and historicized (Flores & Benmayor, 1997;

Kang, 2010). Ong (1996) adds to Rosaldo's theory by addressing "the cultural inscription of state power and other forms of regulation that define the different modalities of belonging," thus using cultural citizenship as "a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (p. 738). Ong's (1996) work with Cambodian refugees and affluent Chinese investigated the multiple forces that inscribed each group as citizens of differential worth, including the racialization of class and the Othering of immigrants. As the "Other non-White" (Gotanda, 2010), Asian Americans in Ong's (1996) study were positioned along a racial spectrum: the refugees were "ideologically blackened subjects" on welfare while the Chinese business people had the capital to access "whitening social practices… and consumer power that spells citizenship in the global economy" (p. 751). Ong's (1996) work troubles the notion that cultural citizenship is focused solely on immigration status and race by complicating it with class differences and the effect of international events.

Students of color may also have personal cultural and racial experiences in America that differ drastically from textbook depictions of citizenship. As Ladson-Billings (2004) explained, "the degree to which the broader society embraces and accepts multiple identities reflects the degree to which individuals see themselves as citizens" (p. 112). Ladson-Billings (1984) discovered that marginalized African American adolescents failed to acknowledge themselves primarily as Americans, holding racial/ethnic allegiances first and national allegiance second. In doing so, they mediated their sense of citizenship through their ethnic identities. With Muslim youth facing bullying from students and some teachers post-9/11, Abu El-Haj (2007) found similar allegiance with

Palestinian students while the Pakistani students in Ghaffar-Kucher's (2015) study held allegiance among their religious group first. Urrieta's (2004) retrospective interviews with Chicanx educators exposed their disconnections with "American" citizenship due to a lack of critical recognition of non-whites in the mainstream curriculum. Similar to the aforementioned work of Ladson-Billings (1984), Abu El-Haj (2007), and Ghaffar-Kucher (2015), Urrieta's respondents indicated "to fully accept 'American' as an identity implies a denial and rejection (to varying degrees) of a non-white self" (p. 450).

As the ideals of citizenship found in school spaces do not necessarily match students' life experiences, Abu El-Haj (2007) called for public schools to reinvigorate their "commitment to citizenship education in ways that engage with diversity, conflict, and structural inequalities" (p. 312), recognizing schools as "one of the few sites in which youth come together across the many communities that constitute our global village" (p. 312). For example, Salinas, Sullivan, and Wacker (2007) examined the practices of a World Geography Studies teacher who created instructional space to discuss claims and denials of cultural contributions that included students' own marginalized communities. The teacher situated the curriculum within broader social, political, and economic contexts that revealed the role of race, class, language, and immigrant status in ways that attended to the lived experiences of her immigrant students.

However, a significant challenge to citizenship education for young children is that elementary school climates "do not fully embrace democratic tolerance and the authority-sharing characteristics necessary to engage students in an active, critical, and constructive examination of what they are learning and why" (VanSledright & Grant, 1994). Coupled

with state-mandated learning standards founded in the official narrative of American progress and exceptionalism (Barton & Levstik, 2009; VanSledright, 2008), examples of active, participatory citizenship education are rare in elementary grades. By utilizing more inclusive renditions of American history and broader interpretations of citizenship, teachers can better engage all students and instill notions of citizenship and patriotism more representative of our pluralistic society. Given the continued perceptions of Asians as perpetual foreigners and exotic Others, such actions have transformative potential if teachers dare to interrogate the conditions of oppression inherent in the curriculum and its constructions of citizenship (Tupper, 2006).

THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

Apple (2000) described the "official knowledge" of schools as "the result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender, and religious groups" (p. 47). The artifact that plays a major role in defining whose culture and knowledge is taught is the textbook. Textbooks may appear innocuous but are created by specific groups of people for certain purposes and interests, typically to enhance the dominant social groups and to maintain social power and control (Anyon, 2011; Apple, 2000; VanSledright, 2008; Zimmerman, 2002). Social studies textbooks in particular tell narratives that follow the work of the powerful and leave the powerless invisible (Pang & Nelson, 2006), as these narratives are found in the supposedly neutral text, they are perceived as legitimate which in turn increases their acceptance and use (Anyon, 2011).

Social studies textbooks are often first introduced to students in intermediate elementary grades (Passe, 2006) as the primary tool of instruction (Duplass, 2007;

Halvorsen, 2013). These textbooks are characterized by a narrative that celebrates American achievements, the underplaying of America's long history of conflict and controversy, and a tendency to focus on potentially controversial characters through the superficial mention of individuals of color (Foster, 2006). In these textbooks, the narrative is told through an omniscient voice which presents information authoritatively such that alternative or counternarratives do not seem possible (VanSledright, 2008). Repeated year after year, these celebratory tellings of U.S. history result in the official narrative of history and contribute to the collective memory of the nation.

While textbooks often play a principal role in social studies instruction, social studies curriculum includes everything that is taught both explicitly (the official curriculum) and implicitly (the hidden curriculum). For example, the extraordinary emphasis on the Texas Revolution and Texas independence found in official curriculum demonstrates that this body of knowledge/history is of great worth; the hidden curriculum suggests that "little to nothing transpired in Texas worthy of record before the coming of the first Anglo settlers from the United States" (San Miguel, 1999, p. 45). Davy Crockett is a figurehead of the Texas Revolution and perhaps the most famous person in Texas history despite only living in Texas for three months before his death; ballads have been written in his honor, he plays a lead role in major motion pictures, and he is the subject of many pieces of children's literature. Conversely, Tejanas/os of Mexican descent who were born in Texas and fought at the Battle of the Alamo are rarely acknowledged in Texas history books, films, and museum exhibits (Salinas, Naseem Rodríguez, & Ayala Lewis, 2015). It is clear that outside of school settings, curriculum still exists – through

tradebooks shared by family and friends and used as academic supplements (Wineburg & Monte-Sano, 2008), through the media and television in particular (Kincheloe, 1989; Postman, 1979), and through dominant practices and discourse.

Ultimately, "the meaning of curricular content is a social accomplishment, and school knowledge is produced in the interaction between teachers, students, and curriculum" (Wills, 2001, pp. 45-46). Pinar (2004) alleges that schools have been and remain complicit in the miseducation of the American public, a process that is further maintained by the curriculum and public discourse. The sections that follow explore how such miseducation is perpetuated through the teaching of official American history with particular attention to the marginalization of Asian Americans. This chapter concludes with challenges and possibilities for the teaching of elementary social studies in ways that disrupt mainstream miseducation.

Official & Unofficial Histories

The official history is that which is taught in school as well as presented by the media and other state institutions in the form of a monolithic narrative (Wertsch, 2000). Based on an assumption of a unified society and a deemphasis on racial, ethnic, gender, and class distinctions, historical narratives in elementary grades focus on the political and diplomatic history of the U.S. from a Eurocentric perspective that lacks diversity and multiple perspectives (Bolgatz, 2006; Levstik & Barton, 2011). Typical grade school lessons about Native Americans, the First Thanksgiving, and Rosa Parks function to promote identification with the nation so students associate themselves with the country as a whole; however, these topics are often included in ways which mute their pluralist

and participatory elements (Barton & Levstik, 2009) in favor of uncomplicated support of the American creed (VanSledright, 2008).

When people of color and women are included in official histories, it is often through textbook features or supplemental readings that do not modify the historical narrative but effectively segregate them from the primary text (Cornbleth, 1997). Lessons about these groups tend to focus on cultural distinctiveness rather than historical and social action, and leave intact those events defined as important by the privileged, Eurocentric narrative of U.S. history (Wills, 2001). Thus "the vision of identity offered in schools is, for many students, exclusionary and unappealing" (Barton & Levstik, 2009, p. 61). By failing to challenge or question discriminatory traditions, policies, and laws, the social studies become complicit with institutional racism (Nelson & Pang, 2014). Further, limited opportunities in schools to discuss racism in history or contemporary society may result in students discrediting school-based accounts and/or seeking other avenues that better represent their views (Epstein, 2010).

Unofficial histories, in contrast, are those learned from family, friends, literature, and other informal sources. Often told in private settings, unofficial histories may take a variety of forms and are generally composed of partial or fragmented knowledge. While students may demonstrate a pattern of "knowing but not believing" the official history they are taught in schools, conversely they may find themselves "believing but not knowing" unofficial histories (Wertsch, 2000). Peck (2010) explains, "students rely on their identities to help shape their understandings of history, and conversely, we know that they rely on their understandings of history to help shape their identity" (p. 577). For

example, Seixas' (1993) study of six high school students with widely different immigrant histories revealed that "[f]amilies, television, and popular culture in general provided sources for much of their thinking about the past" (p. 320) and shaped the students' underlying approaches to history. For several participants in Seixas' (1993) study, family experiences provided a crucial lens that resulted in skepticism toward official statements and perspectives of cultural change and particular ethnic groups.

In her study of white and Black students in fifth, eighth, and eleventh grades along with their parents, Epstein (2010) found "a deep and enduring racial divide" (p. 3) in the ways students understood race and rights in national history and contemporary society. White parents and their children thought only of European and white Americans as national builders, while the national identity Black parents conceptualized and discussed at home with their children was based on white power and privilege, and Black families found people of color underrepresented by teachers and in textbooks. Epstein's findings reveal that both classroom pedagogies and racial identities shape the ways in which students understand and explain historical actors and events. In her study, white adolescents and adults interpreted history in ways congruent with the mostly positive and progressive official narrative whereas Black youth and adults actively sought out unofficial histories. The unofficial histories shared in the Black homes Epstein visited were a means "to prepare (their children) for the harshness of racism and violence in contemporary society" (p. 103) and contradicted the official interpretations of U.S. history and civil/national identities taught in school.

Wertsch (2000) attends to the ways in which individuals utilize narratives as cultural tools by distinguishing between mastery, appropriation, and resistance. Mastery of a narrative is simply knowing how to reproduce or employ it; the focus is on cognitive abilities, not an emotional commitment. Appropriation is what results when narratives are made one's own, thereby requiring an emotional dimension that may be independent of cognitive mastery. Resistance, however, occurs when one is exposed to cultural tool or text and distances oneself from it – often through knowledge of alternative, unofficial narratives. In Epstein's study, white students tended to appropriate official history while Black students overwhelmingly resisted it. For teachers and students alike, mastery of the official narrative does not necessarily lead to appropriation; for some, resistance can lead to the troubling of the official knowledge presented in social studies curriculum (Salinas & Blevins, 2013). However, in contrast to most studies where ethnic minority students question official American history themes (Epstein, 2010; Peck, 2010; Seixas, 1993), Terzian and Yeager (2007) discovered that a group of high-achieving Latino students, largely of Cuban origin, held political ideals congruent with the teacher and standard curriculum, thus appropriating official history.

The studies described above reveal the complexity of historical narratives and their relationship to ethnic identity. As Lévesque (2005) explains,

> Teachers, students, and people in general, no less than historians, confront the study of the past with their own mental framework of historical significance shaped by their particular cultural and linguistic heritage, family practices, popular culture influence, and last, but not least, school history experience. (¶2)

Mastery of official narratives does not necessarily determine appropriation or resistance, which are influenced by a multitude of factors. In their work with pre-service educators

who taught historical events traditionally omitted from official history, Salinas and Blevins (2013) found that teachers who knew but did not believe the official curriculum *and* were aware of the often silenced alternative accounts were able to trouble the curriculum in meaningful ways – simply problematizing official history was not enough. This study interrogated the ways in which Asian American teachers and their students made sense of Asian American history by studying teachers' instructional approaches to the curriculum (as a supplement, nuance, and/or contradiction to official history) as well as how various Asian American history narratives are mediated in terms of mastery, appropriation, and resistance.

Asians & Asian Americans in Mainstream History Curriculum

Wills (2001) found meaningful representations of diverse groups of agents, actors and subjects in U.S. history and society missing in the curriculum, while Cornbleth (1997) observed a movement from purposeful exclusion to marginal inclusion of people of color and women at the elementary and secondary levels. Cornbleth (1997) states, "other than Anglo-European groups usually have been ignored in U.S. history except when they are relevant to the actions or experiences of Anglo-Europeans" (p. 360), maintaining the traditional, elite, and individualist view of American history and confirming the notion that schools act as agents of cultural hegemony, selective tradition and cultural incorporation (Apple, 2004). The absence of diverse groups in the curriculum makes schools poor resources for the development of students' understandings of structural racism, which in turn fails to prepare students for active citizenship in our diverse society (Wills, 2001).

Pinar (2004) maintains, "The school curriculum communicates what we choose to remember about our past, what we believe about the present, what we hope for the future. Curriculum debates—such as those over multiculturalism… are also debates about the American national identity" (p. 20). While the overrepresentation of white males in U.S. history has been well documented, compared to other ethnoracial groups, Asians are arguably most invisible in the traditional narrative of American history. Whether examining their presence within state educational standards (An, 2016; Heilig, Brown, & Brown, 2012; Noboa, 2012; Sleeter, 2002), textbooks (Harada, 2000; Hartlep & Scott, 2016; Suh, An, & Forest, 2015; Wolf, 1992; Zuercher, 1969), or in the curricular content needed for teacher licensure (Kiang, 2002), there is minimal if any mention of Asian Americans. Given the primary role of official narratives in social studies instruction, it is important to identify how Asian Americans are currently depicted in order to determine ways in which the curriculum can be problematized and further developed.

Several analyses have examined the treatment of Asians and Asian Americans in American History textbooks. Zuercher's (1969) study focused on the depiction of Japanese and Chinese Americans and found these groups' experiences with widespread discrimination were generally overlooked and in some cases hardly mentioned as texts concentrated on European immigration. More recent studies show scant improvement as Japanese and Chinese Americans are described most frequently with the heaviest coverage on Japanese internment (Harada, 2000; Hawkins & Buckendorf, 2010; Ogawa, 2004; Romanowski, 1995; Suh et al., 2015). Additionally, the few instances in which textbooks mentioned Asians/Asian Americans followed the typical narrative template of

American progress (Suh et al., 2015) and male immigrant narratives (e.g., Chinese gold miners and railroad workers, various Asian-origin agricultural laborers, Japanese American soldiers in the 422nd Regimental Combat Team during World War II), relegating women and children to supporting if not invisible roles bound by the home (Okihiro, 1997). These studies reveal problems of omission, references to the economic and academic successes of Asian Americans in ways that perpetuate the Model Minority stereotype, and depictions of Asian Americans as passive rather than active agents who did not resist inhumane working conditions or wartime imprisonment.

Among the many Asian national origin and ethnic groups ignored in textbooks are Filipinos, Koreans, and Indians, three of the largest populations of Asian Americans[7] in the United States (Harada, 2000; Suh et al., 2015). Suh et al. (2015) discovered "the textbooks' narratives failed to tell Asian American experiences as immigrants in an accurate manner" (p. 47), citing immigrant laws in ways that were vague or confusing and omitting the 1965 act that was wholly responsible for Asians' large-scale immigration to the U.S. in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. These textbook omissions fail to provide students with any explanation for the rapid growth of Asian populations in America and certainly do not underscore immigration preferences that privilege Asians with advanced degrees in particular workforce sectors (see Prashad, 2000). Post-9/11, Arab, South Asian, Muslim, and Sikh students frequently express feelings of exclusion and experience bullying in schools (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Wingfield,

[7] According to the 2010 Census, the six largest Asian American groups by country of origin are 1) Chinese (23.2% of Asian Americans), 2) Filipino (19.7%), 3) Indian (18.4%), 4) Vietnamese (10.0%), Korean (9.9%), and Japanese (7.5%) (Taylor, 2012)

2006), with some reporting lower teacher expectations of their academic abilities (Zine, 2000) and teacher discrimination (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2015) due to associations with terrorism and/or misconceptions about Islam. These groups remain absent from U.S. history curriculum, exacerbating perceptions that their religions and cultures are foreign and un-American. Overall, on the rare occasions when Asian Americans are discussed in schools, they are depicted as outsiders who are decidedly more Asian than American.

Media and popular culture further intensify existing stereotypes about Asian Americans (Hartlep, 2013; Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2007). The model minority myth first emerged in two nationally published articles in 1966 that lauded Japanese and Chinese Americans for their persistence in overcoming hardship and discrimination to achieve academic success (Zhou, 2004). This stereotype is maintained in many ways, from the aggregation of student achievement data to the relegation of Asian American actors to roles as scientists and doctors on television (e.g., *The Big Bang Theory, The Mindy Project*, *Grey's Anatomy, Heroes*). Asian Americans are also represented on contemporary television shows as perpetual foreigners with marked accents (e.g., *The Simpsons, Fresh Off the Boat*) and in film as exotic, violent beings who specialize in martial arts and illicit activity. For many South Asian Americans, popular depictions of Muslims as immigrant terrorists have been particularly problematic post-9/11 (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2007) as Islamophobia has become increasingly widespread and used in widely publicized discourse among the 2016 field of Republican presidential candidates (Sarsour, 2015) and by advisors in Trump's White House.

Perceptions of Asian Americans as foreigners and outsiders have a long tradition in the United States. According to Okihiro (1994), the prevailing historical view of an American was a narrow construction that separated "settler" (or original colonist) from immigrant and "required a single origin and common culture" (p. 6). In the Federalist papers, John Jay wrote that Americans were "one united people—a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs" (Hamilton, Jay, & Madison, 1787, pp. 19-20). Okihiro situates the exclusion of Asians in American history by contrasting the famed Ellis Island to lesser known Angel Island, the primary entry point for Chinese and other Asian immigrants on the West Coast that served as a detention center as well as immigration station:

> Although Asians helped to construct those iron links that connected East to West, they, along with other peoples of color, were excluded from the industrial, masculine, destroying melting pot. Ellis Island was not their port of entry; its statue was not their goddess of liberty. Instead, the square-jawed, androgynous visage of the "Mother of Exiles" turned outward to instruct, to warn, and to repel those who would endanger the good order of America's shores, both at home and abroad. The indigenous inhabitants of Africa, Asia, and the Americas were not members of the community but were more akin to the wilderness, which required penetration and domestication. (p. 6)

Both Okihiro and Jay make clear that in contrast to Anglo-Saxon Protestants, Asians and other peoples of color were not considered ideal immigrants (compared to Western Europeans) –and certainly not *real* Americans – due to their perceived inassimilability.

Daniels (2003) cites two possible explanations for the absence of Asians in American history. "In the first place, the entire historiographical tradition of American

immigration… has, until very recently, concentrated almost exclusively on Europeans" (p. 14). Daniels (2003) continues:

> Thus, historians and other students of our immigrant past became used to writing off Asian immigration as an aberration. In addition, many, perhaps most, of the historians of immigration wrote about their own ethnic groups, and, even today, all but a handful of historians of immigration are Euro-Americans with a propensity to identify the immigrant past with Europe. (p. 14)

Indeed, the first book about Asian immigrants in the U.S. by an academic historian was not published until 1939, some nine decades after Chinese first arrived in America (Chan, 2007). In addition to the need for a paradigm shift among historians, Chang (1992) argues that prior to the 1960s there was an "absence of an articulated, recorded, and respected Asian American 'collective memory'" (p. 105). Since the 1990s, the field of Asian American history has witnessed tremendous growth (Chan, 1996, 2007; Chang, 1992). Despite these advances in historiography, popular culture and textbooks have demonstrated little progress toward greater inclusion and more accurate representation of Asian American narratives.

It is important to reiterate that Asian Americans are neither a homogenous nor monolithic group, with significant differences that exist between and among various Asian ethnic groups (Omi, 1996). However Asian Americans have historically been subjected to cultural prejudice and racism distinct from European immigrant groups due to what acclaimed sociologist Robert E. Park called their "racial uniform" (Park, 1914, p. 611). Asians were subjected to institutionalized racial discrimination through public policies and were the first and only group excluded from immigrating to the United States

on the basis of nationality (Takaki, 1998). Asian American histories therefore trouble traditional narrative arcs of American progress due to their highly racialized nature.

Many Asian American historical narratives present what Salinas and Alarcón (2016) consider *difficult histories*:

> By difficult histories we mean those historical accounts that minimize the accounts of conflict between dominant groups and those that would favor a more equitable political, social and economic landscape. We further characterize the teaching of difficult histories as those practices that expose the enduring presence of racism, classism, sexism and so forth that define the struggle for citizenship as continual. (p. 69)

Asian American experiences of prolonged detention at Angel Island, exploitation of labor, purposeful exclusion of "Mongolian" children from public schools, and forced relocation and incarceration in deserts during World War II are juxtaposed against the official histories of America as a land of opportunity and melting pot of immigrants (Daniels, 2003; Hawkins & Buckendorf, 2010; Jahng, 2013; Lee & Yung, 2010; Takaki, 1990, 1998), while the influx of Southeast Asian refugees in the 1970s and 1980s as a direct result of U.S. military interventions call into question the purposes and effects of American military aggression. In Suh et al.'s (2015) textbook study, Vietnamese immigrant experiences were rarely related to the Vietnam War. These are not easy discussions to have with young students, and perhaps most significantly, because these topics have long been missing from textbooks and curriculum, current teachers may be uncomfortable teaching them and/or unfamiliar with age-appropriate resources to scaffold instruction and student learning. However, to limit official history only to those narratives which depict the United States in a positive light furthers Pinar's (2004)

critique of the miseducation of the American public and fails to explain the racial hierarchy that remains entrenched in American society today.

Trouillot (1995) identifies four moments during which silences enter the process of historical production: 1) the moment of fact creation (source-making), 2) the moment of fact assembly (archive-making), 3) the moment of fact retrieval (narrative-making) and 4) the moment of retrospective significance (history-making in the final instance). He argues that not all silences are equal and they cannot be addressed or redressed in the same manner; "ironically, the more important an issue for specific segments of civil society, the more subdued the interpretations of the facts offered by most professional historians" (p. 21). Solorzano and Yosso (2002) describe the consequences of such silences: "educational marginalization is justified through research that decenters and even dismisses communities of color—through majoritarian storytelling" (p. 36). Majoritarian stories generate from a legacy of racial privilege that center (and thereby norm) the experiences of whites, men, the middle/upper class, and heterosexuals while distorting and silencing the experiences of people of color (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Due to their pervasive nature, people of color and other marginalized groups can and do buy into and tell majoritarian stories. Counterstories are a method of storytelling centered on those whose experiences are generally excluded and can be used as tools to expose, analyze, and challenge majoritarian tales of racial privilege (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). However, as Solorzano and Yosso (2002) point out, counterstories need not only be created in direct response to majoritarian stories. For example, when students learn about the Chinese who worked on the transcontinental railroad, teachers can center issues

of racism by discussing tensions between Chinese and White workers and highlighting the 1867 labor strike (Pang, 2006) or the 1871 mob violence against Chinese in Los Angeles that led to the largest mass lynching in U.S. history (Lee, 2015) to better explain racial motivations behind the Chinese Exclusion Act.

To counter essentializing narratives that construct all Asians as "strangers from a distant shore" (Takaki, 1998), Goodwin (2010) maintains that teachers should remind students,

> a significant portion of the API population has resided in the United States for generations—as long as, or for longer, than Europeans or Whites who claim(ed) membership in and ownership of this country through colonization and oppression of non-White "others." (p. 3107)

The official curriculum serves not only to privilege particular sets of knowledge but also to acculturate and deposit U.S. national and cultural values (Apple, 2004). Goodwin (2010) argues that this silencing curriculum "clearly transmits the message that (Asian Americans) hold no membership in the 'American' story" (p. 322) and offers no space for Asian American and Asian immigrant children to find their voice in classrooms. To resist such curriculum, Asian American students need opportunities to articulate their multiple lived experiences and teacher preparation programs need to attend more critically to the diversity of Asian America as well as to the racism endemic to American society and its institutions.

Halagao's (2004) work with Filipinx American undergraduates, who themselves learned a Filipinx American curriculum before teaching it to seventh graders, revealed the complex interplay between prior knowledge, historical and racial identity, and transformative curriculum. As the undergraduates learned the *Pinoy Teach* curriculum,

they found themselves making curricular connections to the unofficial histories shared by family and friends. However, they also encountered cultural collisions between official and unofficial histories, especially around the topic of imperialism. Some participants inherited what Halagao termed "colonial mentalities" from their parents or due to ignorance, assuming that Filipinx embraced Spanish and U.S. colonialism. As these participants encountered the transformative counternarratives found in *Pinoy Teach*, they reported feelings of frustration and confusion about what to believe. The curriculum problematized their conceptions of ethnic and racial identity and pushed them to question their prior historical and cultural knowledge. Halagao's study revealed ethnic identity as an ongoing process for students and teachers alike.

Kiang (2004) organized an effort among undergraduate students to develop a curriculum resource that supported structured K-12 educational opportunities about Asian American history and contemporary issues of Asian America. Local teachers enthusiastically participated and launched a collaborative revision process for a second edition, however Kiang acknowledged the limitations of 'one-shot' teacher training workshops. In order for educators to better understand the political nature of official history, teacher education must provide reflective spaces that allow prospective teachers to consider the nature and legitimacy of the narratives included, as well as excluded, from the curriculum (Salinas & Blevins, 2013). As the studies reviewed in this section demonstrate, the long-standing invisibility of Asian Americans in histories requires teachers and teacher educators to go beyond the traditional curriculum to include more diverse and inclusive representations in their classroom.

Teaching History

As evidenced in the previous section, there are many problems with the traditional ways history is taught in schools. Official narratives of American history consist of a "principal narrative arc of progressive and continuous national development… predominantly concerned with military, economic and political processes" (VanSledright, 2008, p. 113). These narratives are also shaped by notions of patriotism, often resulting in highly selective and sanitized depictions of the past more focused on perpetuating understandings of heritage than actual history (Kammen, 1989). The heritage approach to history education typical of elementary curriculum keeps "students in the dark about the nature of history" (Loewen, 1995) and denies students opportunities to think critically about the past by removing controversy and conflict (Kent, 1999). For example, Anderson (1994) asserts that the topic of race in standard histories is generally marked by abstraction or exclusion except in cases such as slavery or the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s when "it is virtually impossible to ignore… It is conceived in these instances as the tragic flaw that temporarily derailed the American pageant's procession toward democracy and justice for all" (p. 89). Racism is addressed as an aberration that was overcome; the experiences of specific groups of color and women are also treated in similar fashion (Cruz, 2002; Norton, 1994).

Another drawback to the common history-as-heritage approach is the lack of perspective that comes from the presentation of a singular, triumphant collective memory. Apple (2000) asks, "*Whose* knowledge is of most worth?" (p. 47). What is considered legitimate knowledge –and therefore what becomes published in state-adopted textbooks—"is the result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable

class, race, gender, and religious groups" (Apple, 2000), dominated by middle-class EuroAmerican heterosexual male Christians (Thornton, 1994; Yosso, 2002). Further, curricular use of the omniscient voice in telling historical narratives presents information authoritatively, such that alternative or counternarratives do not seem possible (VanSledright, 2008) and history education often fails to consider multiple perspectives and the conflicts that arise from them (Barton & Levstik, 2009).

In terms of pedagogy, educators in a wide variety of disciplines engage in the "banking" conception of education (Freire, 1970) where teachers serve as knowledge givers who pass on information to students. History in particular is notorious for its copious collection of people, places, and events, but as with any subject, educators range from knowledge givers to knowledge facilitators (Grant, 2003). While textbooks and curriculum packages may be produced for particular purposes –what Cornbleth (1985) terms "the technical project conception of curriculum" – teachers and students can work together to determine whose stories are told and whose are omitted as well as who benefits from particular official narratives. Such patterns of social interaction and curriculum construction – called "curriculum-in-use" by Cornbleth (1985) – can extend students' learning opportunities and provide space to reform social studies education.

One approach to teaching history is historical thinking, which Fránquiz and Salinas (2013) define as "the examination of often digitized primary sources (first-hand accounts like photographs, letters, government documents, etc.) and related document based questions (DBQs) to follow an evidentiary trail and develop historical conclusions" (p. 341). When students are asked to go beyond secondary sources like textbooks and

instead examine primary sources and multiple perspectives, they engage in historical thinking. Seixas and Peck (2004) identify several elements of historical thinking that when taught systematically can deepen student understanding: historical significance; epistemology and evidence; continuity and change; progress and decline; empathy (historical perspective-taking) and moral judgement; and historical agency. Historical thinking can reveal that history is not a single seamless, resolved and uncontested interpretation and thereby expose the dominant narrative and abstract nature of the social studies by teaching students "that stories have authors and that those authors can hold very different perspectives on the same event or incident" (VanSledright, 2004, p. 231). Furthermore, historical thinking exposes the metadiscourse absent in textbooks as author positionality and stance become visible (Wineburg, 2001).

Parker (2003) maintains that liberty and democracy rely on diversity. Ultimately, these scholars argued for the teaching of history to contribute to democratic society and the common good:

> History's place in the curriculum must be justified in terms of its contribution to democratic citizenship – citizenship that is participatory, pluralist, and deliberative - and its practices must be structured to achieve that end. (Barton & Levstik, 2009, p. 40)

If the primary goal of social studies is truly to prepare students for participation in a pluralist democracy (Barton & Levstik, 2009; Dewey, 1916), providing young students with critical examinations of civic allegiance and the history of citizenship can better support their understanding of how the United States became as diverse as it is today.

The preponderance of scholarship on how history is and should be taught in school focuses on secondary social studies. The lack of emphasis on elementary social

studies, from the curriculum to teacher content knowledge and pedagogy, leaves many questions unanswered regarding how history is taught to young children and how students respond to dominant official narratives in early grades. Here I address both the challenges and possibilities of social studies education in terms of rethinking historical narratives so that traditionally marginalized groups like Asian Americans can be presented in the curriculum-in-use.

Challenges in Teaching Elementary Social Studies

In elementary schools, the curriculum has traditionally focused on "the three Rs" (i.e., reading, writing, and 'rithmetic) and historically de-emphasized the social studies. When history education first appeared in nineteenth century common schools, the focus was on American heroes, patriotism and good citizenship (Halvorsen, 2013) – quite similar to what social studies continues to look like today in many U.S. schools. Views of citizenship education shifted as various groups of immigrants and students of color entered American schools at the turn of the century and the content of the social studies became a subject of contention. In the 1940s, Paul Robert Hanna released a successful series of textbooks based on "expanding communities," an approach which provided an elementary social studies scope and sequence beginning with students' families, schools, and neighborhoods and gradually broadening to larger communities, from city to state to nation (Halvorsen, 2013). Although "expanding communities" has been heavily critiqued (Freeze & Ayers, 2003; Ravitch, 1987), it remains common in state content standards and textbooks and often considered the de facto national social studies curriculum (Brophy, 1992; Halvorsen, 2013).

The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, arguably the most important federal education legislation in contemporary America, largely ignored social studies at both the elementary and secondary levels. In 2010, the state-led Common Core State Standards (CCSS) were released for mathematics and English language arts for reading, writing, speaking and listening. A year later, forty-five states adopted CCSS (Kenna & Russell, 2014). Social studies was not included in the CCSS, however the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) released social studies standards in alignment with CCSS in 2013: the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3): Framework for State Standards in Social Studies is composed of a flexible inquiry structure and is written for grade spans, such as kindergarten through second grade and third through fifth grade (Halvorsen, 2013; Swan et al., 2013).

The absence of social studies in NCLB as well as CCSS is indicative of the lack of emphasis the discipline faces in schools. Since the passage of NCLB, researchers have noted the "declining position of the social studies in the elementary school curriculum… Of the four main academic areas, social studies has the least funding… and the least instruction time in elementary schools" (Halvorsen, 2013, p. 2). While all states test language arts and math in elementary grades, only twelve states test social studies (US Department of Education, 2010). In states that do not test elementary social studies as part of their state's mandated accountability program, the subject area has become increasingly marginalized relative to core testing subjects (Au, 2009; Heafner & Fitchett, 2012; VanFossen, 2005; Vogler, Lintner, Lipscomb, Knopf, Heafner, & Rock, 2007; Wills, 2007). Further, teachers are often encouraged to deemphasize or even omit social

studies by their administration (Passe, 2006; Russell, 2009). In some cases, teachers themselves decide to decrease or eliminate social studies instructional time – particularly around testing season – to maintain job security in environments where student passing rates influence teacher performance (Russell, 2009; Wills, 2007). The Center on Education Policy (McMurrer, 2008) reported that elementary social studies across the country lost an average of 76 minutes of instructional time per week five years after the passage of NCLB, more than any other subject or period during the school day.

Yet in the twelve states that do mandate elementary social studies assessments – a decrease from the thirty that required social studies testing a decade before – the presence of social studies during the school day does not guarantee meaningful social studies teaching. Instruction is frequently tailored to what will best prepare students to pass the test (Vogler, 2011) and is thereby textbook-driven with an emphasis on lecture rather than critical discussions (Bisland, 2011; Wills, 2007). While the requirement of standardized state testing does guarantee the regular inclusion of social studies instruction in classrooms, subjects like reading and math still take precedent (Heafner, Lipscomb & Rock, 2006; VanFossen, 2005; Vogler, et al, 2007) and several studies found upper elementary teachers often preferred to integrate reading and social studies (Hinde, 2005; Wills, 2007; VanFossen, 2005) rather than teach social studies as a standalone subject.

The challenge of social studies and reading integration is that social studies can be used "merely as a vehicle for developing skills in language arts/reading" (VanFossen, 2005, p. 394). In the primary grades, Boyle-Baise, Hsu, Johnson, Serriere and Stewart (2008) found "the incorporation of social studies into reading diminished serious, specific

study of topics and times… Integration was more like robbing of content from social studies to benefit reading than an enrichment of both" (p. 248). Yet Britt and Howe (2014) stress the need to integrate literacy skills into social studies in order to adequately address the CCSS English Language Arts emphasis on informational text and content area reading. These challenges demonstrate that even when space and time to teach social studies is carved out in elementary classroom schedules, the quality and depth of instruction remain limited, particularly in comparison to language arts and math.

In elementary grades – as is common in secondary history classes – the textbook is the primary tool of instruction (Boyle-Baise et al., 2008; Duplass, 2007; Halvorsen, 2013). As students move into upper elementary grades, textbooks using the "expanding communities" approach shift their focus from families and communities to the history of the state and/or nation, moving toward laundry lists of historical names, dates and places (VanFossen, 2005; Wills, 2007). As many elementary educators lack substantial historical content knowledge (Bisland, 2011; Vogler, 2011), they often rely heavily on the text to guide instruction.

Studies of elementary educators reflected a general lack of social studies and/or history content knowledge (Russell, 2009; Stanley & Longwell, 2004) that can be attributed to at least three factors: 1) unlike their secondary counterparts, individuals who pursue elementary certification through traditional teacher education programs generally do not have discipline-specific majors as their focus is on child development and the multiple subjects taught in elementary schools (Stanley & Longwell, 2004); 2) teacher education programs do not heavily emphasize social studies (Bolick, Adams & Willox,

2010; Russell, 2009); and 3) social studies professional development opportunities are rarely offered to in-service teachers (Passe, 2006; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). These factors present challenges that must be addressed at the teacher education level as well as while teachers are employed in schools, and may account for a lack of depth (Bauml, 2016) and avoidance of difficult or controversial issues in elementary classrooms.

The lack of elementary educator content knowledge often manifests in the popular reduction of social studies to teaching about heroes and holidays (Kohl, 1994; Loewen, 1995) and "food, fun, families, festivals, flags and films" (National Council for the Social Studies, 2009), particularly in primary grades. As noted above, social studies curricula contain a decidedly Eurocentric cast that showcases the accomplishments of Anglo-Saxon men, especially presidents, entrepreneurs, and military generals (VanSledright, 2008). VanSledright (2008) contends that the minor inclusion of organizational leaders of color like César Chavez and Martin Luther King, Jr. in textbooks provide "representations largely in service to [ethnoracial characters'] contribution to the achievement of mainstream goals in the spirit of Manifest Destiny, achieving freedom, and national political, economic, and military triumphalism" (p. 144) and maintain the American creed of equality and justice. As diverse interpretations generally found in textbooks and school curricula are noticeably minimal (Levstik & Barton, 2011), teachers who rely on these resources present a very narrow, Euro-American perspective. Thus elementary social studies educators must look beyond the official curriculum in order for their students to encounter narratives of the voices absent from the text, such as those of women and people of color.

Given all the challenges inherent to social studies education at the elementary level, it is important to consider notions of pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 2004). Separate from content knowledge –which many elementary teachers lack in social studies- and curricular knowledge (often limited to the textbook or videos), pedagogical content knowledge "embodies the aspects of content most germane to its teachability" (Shulman, 2004, p. 203), such as knowing the most useful forms of representation and examples for particular ideas with certain age groups and an understanding of common student misconceptions. Elementary teachers of social studies must possess pedagogical content knowledge so that they know what topics are adequately attended to in the textbook and what topics would be better addressed through the use of primary sources or other supplementary materials to maximize student understanding (Wineburg, 2001). Such knowledge is research-based and can be supported in teacher education programs and/or through professional development.

Contemporary social studies curriculum is in desperate need of change. Despite recommendations for greater diversity within the official narrative and efforts by those specializing in ethnic studies, multicultural and social justice education, official histories with their narrow Eurocentric conceptions of American history remain the primary vehicle of instruction in elementary schools (and beyond) and deny students an opportunity to see the true diversity of the United States represented in authentic ways. Elementary educators have a particularly daunting task as the influence of standardized testing constrains the amount of time they are able to devote to teaching social studies and they may have few instructional resources beyond the textbook to rely on.

VanSledright (2002) reminds us that pursuing historical investigation "can put teachers at odds with 'official,' heritage-based curriculum policy and standards targets" (p. 139), further complicating teacher decision-making.

Possibilities in Teaching Elementary Social Studies

In spite of the challenges faced by elementary social studies educators, many possibilities remain. As curricular-instructional gatekeepers, teachers make curricular and instructional decisions every day regarding both subject matter and student experiences (Thornton, 1991). The lack of state-mandated testing in elementary grades opens possibilities for teachers to stretch the curriculum-in-use (Cornbleth, 1985) and tailor it in ways that are culturally relevant, culturally sustaining, and even culturally revitalizing to students. Ladson-Billings (1995) defined culturally relevant pedagogy as pedagogy that "not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate" (p. 469). Extending on this work is the notion of culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris, 2012), which seeks to perpetuate and foster "linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling" (Paris & Alim, 2014, p. 95) by supporting youth in accessing dominant cultural competence while sustaining the linguistic and cultural competence of their own communities. For even more marginalized groups like Native Americans, culturally sustaining/revitalizing pedagogy (McCarty & Lee, 2014) attends to asymmetrical power relations across groups with the goal of transforming legacies of colonization and "recognizes the need to reclaim and revitalize what has been disrupted and displaced by

colonization" (p. 103). Using these pedagogical frames to disrupt the dominant narrative of history found in textbooks can empower all students to better understand our pluralistic society's complicated past.

In the development of the aforementioned practices, Paris (2012) reminds educators to ask themselves,

> if the research and practice being produced under the umbrella of cultural relevance and responsiveness is, indeed, ensuring maintenance of the languages and cultures of African American, Latina/o, Indigenous American, Asian American, Pacific Islander American, and other longstanding and newcomer communities in our classrooms. Furthermore, we must ask if a critical stance toward and critical action against unequal power relations is resulting from such research and practice. (pp. 94-95)

The resistance to official narratives and exploration of unofficial narratives offers an opportunity for students to not only sustain knowledges of the home and family (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzales, 1992; Yosso, 2002, 2005) but also to revitalize histories silenced by colonizing curricula (Goodwin, 2010; McCarty & Lee, 2014). By providing a space for students to learn about a more diverse array of actors, events, and movements in American history, educators allow young learners to explain relationships with other people, institutions, the environment, and better understand the past (NCSS, 2009). In so doing, educators also begin to expose the hegemony and oppression hidden in official curriculum and broaden notions of citizenship.

While the drawbacks to using the official curriculum as the primary source of social studies instruction have already been discussed, teachers can nevertheless critically examine curriculum and popular depictions of history with their students to determine what voices are in need of excavating. While publishers and authors produce curriculum

packages and textbooks for particular purposes –what Cornbleth (1985) termed "the technical project conception of curriculum" (p. 32) – teachers and students can work together to determine whose stories are told and whose are omitted, as well as who benefits from particular official narratives. Such patterns of social interaction and curriculum construction – dubbed the "curriculum-in-use" by Cornbleth (1985, p. 37)– can extend students' learning opportunities and support efforts to reform social studies education. For example, Golden's (2006) critical fourth grade literacy and history unit used historical accounts of Pocahontas in contrast to the popular Disney movie to identify historical inaccuracies and stereotypes. Through the use of critical literacy, students can discriminate between dominant narratives of history and narratives presented by marginalized voices while attending to the ways in which various groups are represented.

Several resources beyond traditional curriculum have proven successful in building elementary social studies knowledge. Children's literature, historical fiction, and graphic novels offer engaging, developmentally-appropriate ways to present historical content omitted from textbooks (Freeman & Levstik, 1988; O'Brien & Verlaan, 2013; Yang, 2008). Scholars have extolled the benefits of children's literature in the social studies (Almerico, 2013), such as offering multiple perspectives (Manak, 2012), promoting character education (Lintner, 2011), actively engaging students (Fredericks, 1991), and creating opportunities for students to think critically and consider issues of social justice (Fox, 2006). The National Council of the Social Studies (NCSS), in conjunction with the Children's Book Council, releases an annual list of Notable Trade Books for Young People in grades K-8 that are organized by social studies subject

categories and subthemes. As stated previously, it is important to emphasize critical literacy as to not perpetuate myths and blemish-free representations of historical figures and events (Kent, 1999; Kohl, 1994; Loewen, 1995) and to recognize bias and inaccuracies found in the text as well as the illustrations (Snow & Robbins, 2015).

Historical thinking is another avenue for exploring history through the use of primary sources and can be used to interrogate official narratives while adding traditionally marginalized stories and voices (Barton & Levstik, 2009; Buchanan, 2015; Fillpot, 2012; Salinas, Fránquiz, & Guberman, 2006; Wineburg, 2001). In practice, VanSledright (2002) describes historical thinking as follows:

> Children learning history develop deeper levels of historical understanding when they have opportunities to consciously use their prior knowledge and assumptions, regardless of how limited or naïve. The most direct and productive method of revealing and employing prior knowledge is through actual historical investigation. This demands that children learn investigative strategies… what Davidson and Lytle (1992) call "the art of historical detection" themselves. (p. 28)

VanSledright (2002) stresses that children need carefully guided opportunities to work with various forms of evidence and source material, deal with issues of interpretation, ask questions about the relative significance of events and the nature of historical agency, and use their imagination within context to fill in gaps as they arise in evidence trails. Ultimately, Wineburg (2001) claims, "history holds the potential, only partly realized, of humanizing us in ways offered by few other areas in the school curriculum" (p. 5) if teachers allow students to explore the tension between the familiar and the strange.

Elementary classrooms can also explore counter-narratives in ways that go beyond traditional text-based learning by incorporating technology and visits to historical sites and museums. Beeson (2013) examined the creation of podcasts to compile primary

and secondary sources while Buchanan (2015) focused on interviews embedded within documentaries produced by the Southern Poverty Law Center as catalysts for historical empathy. Salinas et al. (2015) described field trips to the state capitol and a history museum conducted *after* fourth grade classes learned unofficial narratives of Tejano history in school; because the students arrived at the sites familiar with many marginalized figures in Texas history, they were more attuned to the glaring absence of people of color in the statuary and exhibits they visited, and ultimately crafted their own biographies of Tejanos in the absence of available texts. Naseem Rodríguez (2015) took students on a virtual field trip to Angel Island, contrasting images and video from that lesser-known immigration station to more popular primary sources from Ellis Island. The widespread availability of resources on the internet along with other technology and visits to historical sites can provide students with more dynamic access to information and stories, particularly about topics that are not addressed in elementary-level texts.

Levstik and Barton (2011) declared that "students need a broad and inclusive exposure" to history, for "[t]o the degree that history instruction limits students' views of the multiple paths leading from the past, it also inhibits their perceptions of the future" (p. 2-3). Engaging young children in a pluralist perspective requires elementary teachers to make time for regular and meaningful instruction, shift the focus of history curriculum and recognize that the official narrative alone is insufficient to achieve the goals of history education, and advocate for more professional development opportunities. These examples illustrate the multitude of ways that elementary teachers can access unofficial narratives of history outside of the textbook that are developmentally appropriate and

engaging. For students whose histories are marginalized from the text, access to such unofficial narratives within the school space can be a deeply powerful act that goes beyond cultural relevance and may prove culturally sustaining or even revitalizing. Such personal connections to history can better foster conceptions of citizenship that otherwise may seem out of reach for children of color who are perceived as Other, and provide all students with narratives that give greater context for the diversity of our country and acknowledge the contributions of many actors and groups in history.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The key instruments that have been deployed in the historical construction of Asian American – immigration law, scientific racism, economic and social policies, and cultural practices – all drew on particular understandings and imaginings of the racialized Asian/American body and psyche, and the ways Asian Americans might occupy, or should occupy, a particular space in America.

Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier, David Palumbo-Liu

The purpose of this study was to explore how Asian American elementary teachers enacted Asian American histories in their classrooms and how their personal experiences and understandings of citizenship informed their work. As the children of Asian immigrants and refugees, the teachers in this study had lived experiences distinctly different from their white peers and students that informed their worldviews, philosophies of teaching, and instructional choices in ways typically ignored in educational research literature. Although Asians are currently the fastest growing population in the United States (Taylor, 2012), they are underrepresented in the teaching field and understudied in academia (Gordon, 2000; Poon, 2014; Rong & Preissle, 1997; Su, 1996).

Studying the experiences of Asian American elementary teachers can inform understandings of citizenship and broaden existing research on teachers of color. At the same time, this study presents a perspective of male and female Asian American teachers in the South that is missing from the literature, which overwhelmingly focuses on experiences of female Asian Americans on the West Coast (Nash, 2008; Pang, 2009) and more recently in the Midwest (Endo, 2015; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015). By including Asian Americans from a variety of ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds, this study attends to the diversity of Asian America in a context where their

perceived foreignness may generally result in their being labeled and observed as a monolithic Other entity.

This chapter addresses the research design proposed to answer the following research questions:

1) How do Asian American elementary teachers enact Asian American history?

2) How do Asian American elementary teachers enact Asian American history through the use of picture books?

3) How are their pedagogical decisions influenced by their personal understandings of citizenship?

This qualitative case study is framed by a critical research paradigm, as this understudied group of teachers developed approaches to teaching unofficial narratives by individuals long neglected in educational research. In this chapter, I describe the following aspects related to the study's research design: 1) research paradigm, 2) conceptual framework, 3) qualitative case study research methodology, 4) participants and school contexts, 5) data collection and analysis, 6) researcher positionality and 7) pilot studies.

RESEARCH PARADIGM

Merriam (2014) described critical research as distinct from interpretive research in its goal "to critique and challenge, to transform and empower" (p. 34). Critical inquiry draws from Marxist thought focused on real-life individuals and society as it is experienced rather than abstractions, as well as Hegel's dialectical understanding of reality as a multifaceted intervention and Freirian notions of transformative and emancipatory education (Crotty, 1998). Rather than merely seeking to understand a

phenomenon and its meaning to participants, critical research recognizes the conflict and oppression inherent in society and seeks change rather than accepting the *status quo*; at its heart, critical research focuses on power dynamics (Crotty, 1998; Merriam, 2014). Critical education research, by extension, "raises questions about how power relations advance the interests of one group while oppressing those of other groups, and the nature of truth and the construction of knowledge" (Merriam, 2014, p. 35).

Apple (2004) described schools as institutions that "perform economic and cultural functions and embody ideological rules that both preserve and enhance an existing set of structural relations. These relations operate at a fundamental level to help some groups and serve as a barrier to others" (p. 64), thus controlling people as well as meaning in the form of what knowledge is considered legitimate. Critical research in education critiques the hegemonic structures of schools "in the hopes of bringing about a more just society" (Merriam, 2014, p. 35). As this study focused on the disruption of dominant narratives of history by individuals who remain invisible in the teaching corpus, a critique of power dynamics in schools and in the curriculum with an orientation toward social justice and transformative education is key.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Maxwell (2005) described a conceptual or theoretical framework as "the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs your research" (p. 33). This study draws upon three major bodies of research for its conceptual framework: (1) Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit) to articulate issues

unique to Asian Americans and their understandings of citizenship, (2) the dominant narrative of history and (3) the ways curriculum is enacted by teachers.

Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit)

AsianCrit has only recently been developed as a conceptual framework in education (Museus, 2014) but draws heavily from the larger, well-established traditions of critical theory, critical legal studies, and critical race theory (CRT). These critical strands of research are founded on resistance which attempts "to understand the oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation" (Tierney, 1993, p. 4). In the 1970s and 1980s, legal scholars such as Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Mari Matsuda felt limited by the separation of critical theory from discussions about race and racism; these early critical race theorists understood racism to be a normal, not aberrant, part of U.S. society (Delgado, 2013; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). "In illuminating the racist nature of the American legal system, CRT adherents are particularly interested in the legal manifestations of white supremacy and the perpetuation of the subordination of people of color" (Wing, 2003). Although CRT began with the principal that racism is embedded in the legal system, it recognizes that racial inequality permeates every aspect of social life. In particular, schools play a powerful role in creating racial inequality "as one of the many institutions that both historically and contemporarily serve to reproduce unequal power relations and academic outcomes" (Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2010, p. 4). CRT is a tool that can deepen understanding of the educational barriers faced by people of color

(Taylor, 2009), from the inequality in school funding to issues related to assessment and curriculum (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Yosso, 2002).

Solorzano & Bernal (2001) outlined five themes that form the basic perspectives, research methods and pedagogy of a CRT framework in education:

> *1. The centrality of race and racism and intersectionality with other forms of subordination.* Race and racism are endemic, permanent, and central but also intersect with other forms of subordination, such as gender and class discrimination.
>
> *2. The challenge to dominant ideology.* CRT challenges the traditional claims of the educational system to objectivity, meritocracy, color-blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity.
>
> *3. The commitment to social justice.* A critical race framework is committed to social justice and offers a liberatory or transformative response to racial, gender, and class oppression (Matsuda, 1991). Educational institutions operate in contradictory ways with their potential to oppress and marginalize coexisting with their potential to emancipate and empower.
>
> *4. The centrality of experiential knowledge.* The experiential knowledge of Students of Color are legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in the field of education.
>
> *5. The interdisciplinary perspective.* This framework challenges ahistoricism and unidisciplinary focus by insisting on analyzing race and racism in education by placing them in both an historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods.

These themes "can be used in theorizing about the ways in which educational structures, processes, and discourses support and promote racial subordination" (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001, p. 315) and are designed to be fluid and dynamic rather than static and uniform. CRT has been applied in a variety of fields in addition to outgrowths that address more specific issues beyond race faced by other groups, such as Critical Race Feminism (FemCrit), Tribal Critical Theory (TribalCrit), Latino Critical Race Theory

(LatCrit), and AsianCrit. These branches of CRT are extensions of a theory that remain rooted in the same basic principles, yet have grown in different directions to address distinctive community needs based on complex histories and experiences in multiple contexts (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

Chang (1993) first called for an Asian American legal scholarship in recognition of the failure of civil rights work and CRT scholarship to address Asian American issues. The discrimination faced by Asian Americans, Chang (1993) argued, "is quantitatively and qualitatively different from that suffered by other disempowered groups" and CRT had "not yet shown how different races matter differently" (p. 1247). The Black/white paradigm that dominated early CRT work ignored the complexity of America's racial hierarchy (Gotanda, 1995, 2010; Haney-López, 1996); cases like *People v. Hall* (1854)[8], *In re Ah Yup* (1878)[9], *Ozawa v. United States* (1922)[10] and *United States v. Thind* (1923)[11] illustrate the convoluted nature of Asian Americans' racial designation. Asian Americans have been positioned as perpetual foreigners and threatening yellow perils since their earliest arrivals in the U.S. (Lowe, 1996; Takaki, 1990) through an "outsider

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[8] In 1854, the California Supreme Court decided that a Chinese man's court testimony (used to convict a "free white citizen" of murder) was inadmissible under a 1850 statute providing that "[n]o Black, or Mulatto person, or Indian shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a White man" (Act of April 16, 1850, ch. 99, at 14, Cal. Stat. 230), The Court determined that the Chinese were clearly not White, but at the time their racial classification remained ambiguous so the Court made Black a generic term meaning any non-White, including Chinese.

[9] The California circuit court ruled that Chinese-born Ah Yup could not naturalize because he was of the "Mongolian" race and therefore not Caucasian.

[10] Japanese-born and American-educated Takao Ozawa's bid for citizenship on the basis of being White (because he was *not* Black) was denied by the U.S. Supreme Court, which declared him a member of the "Yellow" race.

[11] Indian Bhagat Singh Thind, a high caste Hindu, used widely-accepted racial science to prove he was Caucasian to the District Court of Oregon in 1920 and was granted citizenship. In 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court overruled this decision, citing the Constitutional framers as understanding "white" to include only European immigrants who were "bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh" (*U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, 261 U.S. 204, at 19), and declared him ineligible for citizenship.

racialization" that operates on multiple levels, from psychological cognition and learning to political discourse and institutional structures (Ancheta, 2006). Asian Americans (as well as Latinx) also suffer from nativistic racism distinct from the nativism of the 1840s that included anti-Catholic and anti-European strains (Chang, 1993; Gee, 1999). Further, the uniqueness of the Asian American experience is noted by the legislative response to Asian immigration and citizenship. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first American restriction on immigration based on nationality and was renewed and extended to other Asian groups for dozens of years that followed. Not until the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 were *all* Asian immigrants finally permitted naturalization; however, the immigration quotas still in place allowed a limited impact on Asian American communities until the discriminatory national quotas were finally abolished by Congress in 1965. AsianCrit recognizes and forefronts the racialized history of Asian immigrants and its subsequent impact on Asian American citizenship and experiences in U.S. society.

In the eyes of CRT, the official school curriculum is "a culturally specific artifact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script" told from a race-neutral or colorblind perspective that "presumes a homogenized 'we' in a celebration of diversity" (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 29). Traditional curriculum discourses are found in textbooks, are endorsed by teachers, and tend to marginalize the knowledges of students of color (Yosso, 2002). More than any other racial group, Asian Americans are invisible in the K-12 history curriculum (Heilig et al, 2012; Okihiro, 1997; Pang, 2006), typically addressed just twice in high school U.S. history: upon the enactment of Chinese exclusion in 1882 and during Japanese incarceration (Noboa, 2012). This minimization of Asian American

involvement in U.S. history is reductive in its attention to only two Asian American groups and problematic in context: Chinese and Japanese Americans are presented as pariahs, either wholly excluded from entry or viewed as enemies of the state, and removed from any past or present contributions to the nation.

On the rare occasions that historically limited access to schooling is discussed in K-12 classrooms, conversations tend to focus on African Americans (Zamudio et al., 2010). Schoolchildren learn about desegregation in the context of Ruby Bridges, whose experience with school segregation is made accessible through widely used children's literature. Absent from these discussions are the stories of Asian Americans like Mamie Tape and Martha Lum, Chinese American girls whose families filed suits so they too could attend their local public schools. In the late nineteenth century, Chinese were completely excluded from the San Francisco public school system. After *Tape v. Hurley* (1885) ruled the exclusion of eight-year-old Mamie Tape unconstitutional, the San Francisco school board opted to create a separate school for Chinese and other "Mongolian" children (Wollenberg, 1978). Over forty years later, Martha Lum was removed from her Mississippi elementary school during lunch due to her Chinese descent. The U.S. Supreme Court found that Martha's removal did not violate her Fourteenth Amendment rights, thus *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927) approved the exclusion of any non-white child from schools reserved for whites, a decision that remained in place until overruled by *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) (Odo, 2002). These two stories "excavate the realities of Asian American struggle and achievement" (Museus, 2014, p.

32) while illuminating common experiences of racism against Asians in schools left out of the traditional curriculum.

To attend to the invisibility of Asian Americans in schools, Museus (2014) offers an AsianCrit perspective that centers racial realities at the core of Asian American educational experiences. This framework consists of seven interconnected tenets based on elements of CRT:

1. *Asianization* refers to the reality that racism and nativist racism are pervasive aspects of American society, and society racializes Asian Americans in distinct ways. This focuses attention on the ways in which society lumps all Asian Americans into a monolithic group and racializes them as overachieving model minorities, perpetual foreigners, and threatening yellow perils, in addition to particular sexual/gender representations (p. 23).

2. *Transnational Contexts* emphasizes the importance of historical and contemporary national and interactional contexts for Asian Americans, informed by the historical and current processes that extend beyond national borders (imperialism, global economies, international war, migration) and share Asian American people and their communities (p. 24).

3. *(Re)Constructive History* underscores the importance of (re)constructing an historical Asian American narrative by re-analyzing history to expose racism toward Asian Americans and recognizing their racial exclusion from American history. It also emphasizes the need to advocate for transcending this invisibility and silence to construct a collective Asian American historical narrative and foster strong Asian American identity and consciousness (p. 25).

4. *Strategic (Anti)Essentialism* is based on the assumption that race is a socially constructed phenomenon that can be shaped and reshaped by economic, political, and social forces. While dominant oppressive economic, political, and social forces impact the ways in which Asian Americans are racially categorized and racialized in society, Asian American can and do engage in actions that affect these processes (pp. 25-26).

5. *Intersectionality* describes the intersection of racism and other systems of oppression to mutually shape the conditions within which Asian Americans exist.

6. *Story, Theory, and Praxis* underscores the notion that counterstories, theoretical work, and practice are important inextricably intertwined elements in the analysis

of Asian American experiences and advocacy for Asian American people and communities (p. 27).

7. *Commitment to Social Justice* highlights that critical theory advocates for the end of all forms of oppression and the elimination of racism (p. 27).

These tenets provide a foundation to examine the experiences of Asian Americans in U.S. educational contexts by articulating the specific ways in which Asian Americans are racialized that distinguish their experiences from other groups of color.

Figure 1. Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit). This figure illustrates the first conceptual frame and the key themes of AsianCrit that will be highlighted in this study.

In this study, the tenets of *Asianization, transnational contexts, (re)constructive history, strategic (anti-)essentialism, story, theory, and praxis,* and *commitment to social justice* were particularly significant (Figure 1). First, studies of Asian American teachers revealed that both teaching peers and students perceive them as racial monoliths, perpetual foreigners, exotic Others, and Model Minorities (Endo, 2015; Goodwin et al., 1997; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Nguyen, 2008; Ramanathan, 2006; Sheets & Chew, 2002). The teachers in this study had multiple opportunities to explore and teach

the diversity of Asian America to their students, pushing back against notions of *Asianization*. Second, the teachers drew from their own families' immigrant histories to illustrate the importance of *transnational contexts* in the Asian American experience. Third, by transcending the invisibility of Asian Americans in U.S. history curriculum through their purposeful inclusion, the teachers *(re)constructed* Asian American historical narratives with their students; for some of the teachers, this work fostered an even stronger Asian American identity and consciousness in themselves (Halagao, 2004; Kiang, 2004). Fourth, the teachers highlighted *strategic essentialism* by demonstrating experiences and racialization common to Asian immigrants in the United States, as well as *strategic anti-essentialism* as they also emphasized the historical and linguistic differences among Asian immigrant groups, frequently using themselves as examples for such distinctions. Finally, the teachers used their own *counterstories* to inform their *praxis* as they enacted Asian American histories, often revealing a *commitment to social justice* that emphasized unequal power dynamics, racism, discrimination, and injustice.

Complex examinations of what it means to be Asian American as well as the (re)construction of Asian American historical narratives can broaden students' conceptions of what it means to be citizenship and how access to citizenship has historically been unequal to many groups in U.S. society. For Asian Americans who exist in "the racial middle" (O'Brien, 2008), "citizenship status does not provide full and complete membership in the American polity... and perceptions of their belonging are moderated by the history of exclusion and the prevalence of racial stereotypes about them" (Masuoka & Junn, 2013, p. 61). As critical pedagogical perspectives ultimately

seek to transform classroom structures and practices that perpetuate undemocratic life (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003), classroom conversations about the historical relationship between race, immigration, and citizenship can create "intellectual and social spaces where power relationships are reconstructed to make central the voices and experiences of those who have historically existed within the margins of mainstream institutions" (Darder et al., 2003, p. 14) and official narratives of history.

Dominant Narratives of History

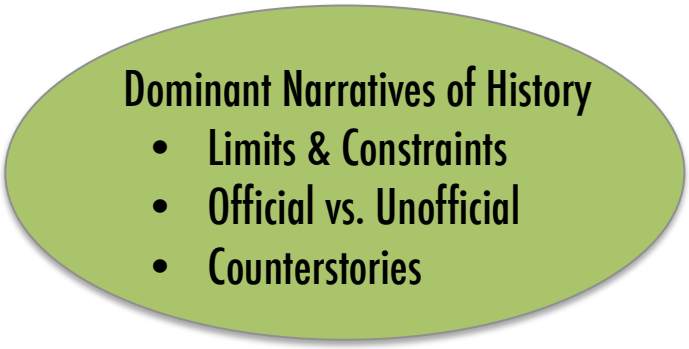


Figure 2. Dominant narratives of history. This figure illustrates the second conceptual frame and subthemes.

The second frame of research surrounds the dominant narrative of history (Figure 2). The dominant narrative, found in school textbooks and trade books, celebrates American achievements while underplaying America's long history of conflict and controversy (Foster, 2006). Often told from the perspective of landed white men, this narrative of U.S. history describes a unified society engaged in continuous progress and freedom with little emphasis on racial, ethnic, gender, and class distinctions (Levstik & Barton, 2011; VanSledright, 2008). This narrative thereby marginalizes many groups in

U.S. society, including women and people of color, and omits the ongoing political, social, and economic struggles faced by many Americans.

Wertsch (2000) contrasted the "official" histories taught in school with the "unofficial" histories of the home and private spaces. As dominant narratives are perpetuated by state institutions and the media, people may follow a pattern of "knowing but not believing" the official narrative. Conversely, more fragmented unofficial histories may result in "believing but not knowing" the real histories that remain hidden in communities, particularly among women and people of color. Through the use of historical thinking and the study of multiple perspectives (among other pedagogical practices), teachers can provide students with access to unofficial histories in school spaces and allow them to look more critically at what is missing from official history. By going beyond the official narrative and presenting more inclusive narratives of history that emphasize the role of historical interpretation, teachers offer students access to a more pluralistic conception of America's past through pedagogies that promote resistance and transformation.

Unofficial histories may also serve as counterstories. Counterstories are "a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society)" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 32), which can expose and challenge racism and discrimination while revealing examples of agency and resistance among groups who are generally invisible in dominant narratives of history. Counterstories exist in many formats and can have transformative potential. Epstein's (2010) study found that the unofficial histories and counterstories shared in the homes of

Black families shaped the ways students understood historical actors and events, particularly in contrast to the official histories presented in school. This study examined how counterstories of Asian American history may impact the ways teachers and students reconsider the dominant narrative of history.

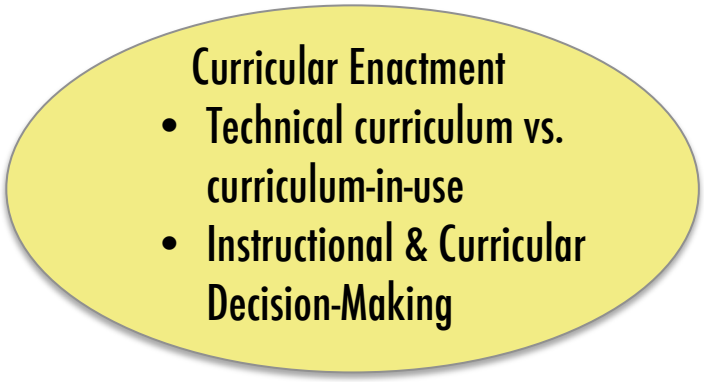


Figure 3. Curricular Enactment. This figure illustrates the third conceptual frame and subthemes.

Curricular Enactment

The third frame of research is curricular enactment (Figure 3). Cornbleth (1985) distinguished between the technical curriculum – discrete components imposed by others assembled to make a curriculum – and curriculum-in-use. The technical curriculum is often not used as intended by the curriculum developers and is typically adapted to teachers' preexisting beliefs and practices. Curriculum-in-use, in contrast, is not a set of lessons predetermined by someone else. Instead it is "the contextually shaped activity of students and teachers… encompassing both subject matter and social organization" (Cornbleth, 1985, p. 37).

The instructional resources that teachers decide to utilize in the classroom and the ways in which those resources are actually implemented may vary from classroom to

classroom even if the technical curriculum is the same, resulting in "an uneven role in practice" (Ball & Cohen, 1996, p. 6). Although mandated curricula are widely used in the social studies, teachers serve as gatekeepers who "make the day-to-day decisions concerning both the subject matter and the experiences to which students have access and the nature of that subject matter and those experiences" (Thornton, 1991, p. 237). Such decision-making about curriculum and instruction occurs within school contexts where teachers may find themselves constrained by curriculum developed by outside authorities. Further, as Apple (2000) explained, "(w)e cannot assume that what is 'in' the text is actually taught. Nor can we assume that what is taught is actually learned" (p. 60).

Ball & Cohen (1996) outlined five intersecting domains teachers work across as they enact curriculum: 1) thoughts about student learning, 2) their own understanding of the material, 3) choices about instructional design, 3) attention to the intellectual and social development of the class, and 5) teachers' views of the broader community and policy contexts in which they work. The latter domain is particularly significant for teachers with a social justice orientation and/or political-racial consciousness. The use of multiple perspectives and inclusion of unofficial histories that have been discussed previously can allow students to recognize and challenge power and oppression in history and recognize the political motivations that are often hidden in official narratives of history (Kumashiro, 2001).

Lastly, critical interpretations of the dominant narrative can lead to the use of counternarratives/counterstories that go beyond the limitations of the textbook and official curriculum. Wade (2007) described choosing specific aspects of broad topics

(e.g., Angel Island during an immigration study), connecting historical topics to present-day concerns (e.g., the Pilgrims compared to Syrian refugees), and teaching essential principles of a topic rather than isolated facts (e.g., what is purpose of the checks and balances system versus memorizing the three branches of government) as three effective strategies for transforming traditional social studies content to a social justice perspective. When students' voices are allowed to impact the curriculum and they feel empowered in their own learning, they can actively seek more counternarratives to increasingly widen the perspectives and stories that are exist within critical history classrooms.

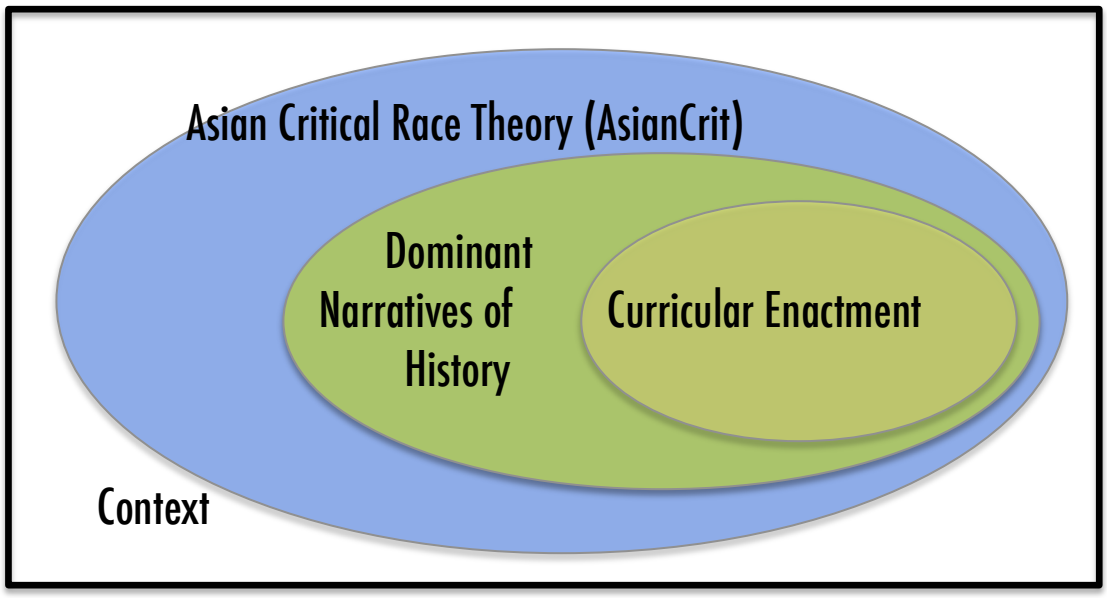


Figure 4. Intersection of Conceptual Frameworks. This figure illustrates the intersections of AsianCrit, dominant narratives of history, and curricular enactment.

In an effort to understand how Asian American elementary teachers enact Asian American histories, these three frames overlap to form the focus of this study (Figure 4). Critical race theory and AsianCrit center the teacher participants' ethnicities/racialization within an overwhelmingly White field dominated by curriculum produced to perpetuate

exclusionary Eurocentric narratives of American progress. This framework's emphasis on change and transformation through the overarching frame of AsianCrit is a reminder that this study does not merely represent a process or new set of voices, but rather illustrates the potential for recognition and resistance against oppressive schooling structures.

QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

With its emphasis on people's lived experiences, Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2013) considered qualitative data "fundamentally well suited for locating the *meanings* people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives and for connecting these meanings to the *social world* around them" (p. 11). Qualitative research aims to understand the meaning of a phenomenon for those involved using an array of interpretive techniques through the selection of nonrandom, purposeful and small samples in comparison to the large, random samples valued in quantitative study, with data gathered through an inductive process rather than tested deductively in an experiment (Merriam, 1998, 2014). Qualitative data tends to "focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings… with strong potential for revealing complexity" (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2013, p. 11) typically collected over a sustained period of time to allow for a more powerful study of process. As a result of the researcher's discipline-specific theoretical framework, interpretation of data and findings, a richly descriptive product is produced.

Case study is a common approach to qualitative inquiry and has been prevalent in the field of education for the last forty years (Merriam, 1998). Though many definitions of case study exist, Stake (1995) defined a case as a specific, unique, bounded system and

can be a person, people, or a program. A case must be a characteristic unit or subject in tandem with an analytic frame through which it can be interpreted (Thomas, 2010; Wieviorka, 1992). As the most important aspect of case study is to examine the case in detail, multiple methods and subsidiary design frames can be utilized (Thomas, 2010). According to Stake (2005), case study "facilitates the conveying of experience of actors and stakeholders" and enhances the reader's experience with the case through narratives, situational descriptions, personal relationships, and group interpretation (p. 454). Instrumental case studies can provide insight into an issue (Stake, 2005) and in the social studies case studies can be particularly helpful in understanding the role of teachers as gatekeepers (Thornton, 1991).

This study advanced Asian American perspectives in elementary education by looking in depth at the ways Asian American teachers enacted Asian American history and understood citizenship. Scant research on Asian American teachers of social studies exists, and even less so at the elementary level. This study contributes to the existing literature about how teachers' racialized lived experiences inform their pedagogy and enactment of social studies curriculum, and provides new insight through its emphasis on Asian American histories in elementary schools. The participation of 1.5 and second generation Asian American teachers is particularly significant as this group has been theorized in distinct ways from native-born white teachers but remains understudied in the field of education.

CASE STUDY RESEARCH DESIGN

This research design was a single case study where all teachers involved were bound by the same urban Texas school district, which has a low percentage of Asian American students and even lower representation of Asian American teachers. All teacher participants were Asian American and the children of Asian immigrants or refugees. Their experiences as first generation Americans and 1.5/second generation immigrants (see Table 3) are distinct from the majority of white, native-born teachers who are farther removed from the immigrant experience in an era where immigrant student populations continue to grow and more languages are spoken across the United States than ever before (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) explain,

> The experiences of adult immigrants are important for the future of these ethnicities, but even more decisive is the fate of their children. Immigrants always have a point of reference in the countries they left behind, and if they are unsuccessful, they can go back… In contrast, the U.S.-born second generation grows up American, and the vast majority of them are here to stay. Their common point of reference is life in this country, and their relative educational and economic achievements will set the course of their respective ethnic groups for the long term. (pp. 17-18)

Unlike the majority of extant literature on Asian American teachers set in the West Coast, this study examined the racialized experiences of teachers in an area with no critical mass of Asians but experiencing Asian American population growth (Hoeffel et al., 2012), where the teachers studied are frequently the sole faculty member of their ethnoracial group and/or the first Asian American teacher that students have had. Although each teacher's school context and student groups were distinct, there were many parallels in

their educational, cultural and professional experiences that bound them together as this study will demonstrate.

Recruitment and Selection of Participants

Given the invisibility of Asian Americans in the scholarship on teachers of color and in school curriculum, I wanted to work with Asian American teachers to examine how their lived experiences impacted the ways they approached the teaching of Asian American histories. When I was an elementary educator, I knew my family's immigrant histories were distinct from those of my teaching peers and students, as were my racialized experiences in Southern cities where Asian Americans comprised a very small portion of the population. As a member of a group whose stories and voices are rarely addressed in teacher education, I wondered how other Asian American teachers might infuse their own perspectives, experiences, and counterstories into the social studies as well as the broader curriculum.

Recruitment and selection of teacher participants occurred in the fall of 2015. After I received external research approval from Central City Independent School District (CCISD)[12] and institutional research board (IRB) approval from State University, CCISD provided me with a list of its Asian American teachers. As a former elementary teacher in CCISD, I had many contacts across the school district at the teacher and administrative levels and began my participant selection process through reputational case selection (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). I used my district contacts to vet over a dozen elementary teachers on the list, asking friends and acquaintances if they knew which subject(s) the

[12] All names are pseudonyms

teacher taught in order to determine who taught social studies and which teachers would be open to enriching their existing curriculum by going beyond the district-mandated curriculum. As the study was foregrounded by AsianCrit, I actively sought teachers who expressed a personal interest in transforming (mis)representations of Asian Americans.

Recognizing that Asian American history is rarely taught in K-12 and is particularly scarce in elementary schools beyond cultural celebrations, I selected participants based on the following criteria:

1) The participant identified as Asian American and was willing to discuss their cultural and immigrant experiences both in and out of the classroom.
2) The participant agreed to teach multiple Asian American history lessons. The form and scope of these lessons was at the teacher's discretion.
3) The participant committed to attending a half-day professional development workshop on Asian American history on February 4, 2016 sponsored by CCISD's elementary social studies department.

With these three goals in mind, I emailed twelve recommended teachers in August 2015 and received three affirmative responses. I then used snowball sampling (Yin, 2014), beginning with the Asian American teachers who responded to the initial email and through continued communication with my former colleagues. Through the snowball approach, I was put in contact with seven more teachers; three agreed to participate, one declined, and three did not return follow-up emails. In January 2016, I received signed consent from six teachers and their respective principals. Each teacher registered for and later attended the February 2016 CCISD workshop.

In February 2016, data collection began in five out of the six classrooms. After spring break in March 2016, all CCISD schools heightened their focus on standardized test preparation in third through fifth grades; consequently, the participating teachers in these grades either slowed significantly in their social studies instruction or stopped completely through testing in mid-May 2016[13]. One fifth grade teacher did not teach any Asian American history lessons and was dropped from the study. Two other fifth grade teachers did not teach Asian American history lessons after February; subsequently, due to limited data collection from these classrooms, they were excluded from this study to allow greater focus on the three participating teachers who enacted multiple-lesson units of instruction about Asian American history through the month of May 2016 and were observed six or more times over the course of the spring 2016 semester.

Participants and School Contexts

The study takes place in Central City, Texas, an urban area where Asian Americans constitute 6.2% of the city's population (see Tables 1 & 2).

Table 1: Central City Demographics, 2014

Racial/Ethnic Category	Totals	Share of Total Population
White (non-Hispanic)	407,665	47.1%
African American (non-Hispanic)	60,585	7.0%
Hispanic	315,909	36.5%
Asian/Pacific Islander (non-Hispanic)	***58,854***	***6.8%***
American Indian (non-Hispanic)	2,529	0.3%
Other (non-Hispanic)	813	0.1%
Multiracial (non-Hispanic)	19,017	2.2%
Totals	865,504	100.0%

[13] In the state of Texas, third grade students take two mandated assessments in the spring in math and reading; fourth graders take three tests in math, reading, and writing and fifth graders are tested in math, reading, and science. In preparation for these tests, science and social studies are often deemphasized by the third grade and therefore science instruction in fifth grade is typically privileged over social studies.

The Asian American elementary teachers in this study were bounded by Central City Independent School District. CCISD is the primary school district of Central City with over 80 elementary campuses. While the teachers worked on different campuses with distinct teacher and student demographics, all but one represented a minimal Asian American presence on their respective teaching staffs. Of CCISD's nearly 6,000 teachers during the 2015-2016 school year, the vast majority were white, followed by Latinx and African American teachers. Asian Americans constituted about 2% of the CCISD teaching force, slightly higher than the state average of 1.4%; nearly half of CCISD's Asian American teachers worked in elementary schools. The bulk of these teachers were concentrated at elementary CCISD campuses with bilingual programming in Vietnamese, Mandarin, and Korean where they worked exclusively with Asian immigrant and Asian American students. The participants in this study, however, worked as general education and Spanish dual language teachers with student populations that were overwhelmingly *not* Asian American. Asian Americans represent 3.5% of CCISD's total student population, although campus percentages at each school vary.

Table 2: Asian Americans in Central City and the U.S. by Nationality, 2014

Nationality	Percentage of Central City Asian American Population	Percentage of U.S. Asian American Population
Chinese	19.9%	23.6%
Indian	36.4%	20.9%
Japanese	2.2%	4.5%
Vietnamese	14.0%	10.3%
Korean	12.7%	8.8%
Filipina/o	4.6%	16.6%
Other	10.4%	15.2%

Data from the American Community Survey, 2014 as reprinted in "The Asian Community in Central City: A Demographic Snapshot" by Central City Demographer, April 19, 2016

The following participant names are pseudonyms carefully selected by the researcher (and approved by participants) to represent the ethnic/linguistic origins of the participants' names as well as their commonality in Asia and in America. For example, participants' actual surnames are identifiably Hindu, Chinese, or Vietnamese; some first names have European roots. Pseudonyms and their spellings were chosen that reflect these origins as well as to reflect spelling/pronunciation challenges described by the participants (e.g., Huynh is not phonetic and is frequently mispronounced by non-Vietnamese in the United States). The pseudonyms chosen for the participants' elementary schools are the names of teachers who impacted me in positive and powerful ways and those pseudonyms do not represent any aspect of the actual campus names.

Elyse Huynh

Elyse identified as Vietnamese American and described wanting to feel more connected to her culture now that her parents have moved away from Central City. Her parents fled Vietnam on a German naval ship during the fall of Saigon and she was born in Germany. She immigrated with her parents to the United States in first grade, fluent in Vietnamese and German but not knowing any English. She distinctly recalled a silent period after her arrival as she took in all the new aspects of life in America. She was active in her Vietnamese church and in the local Vietnamese community until her parents divorced when she was nine. She did not retain German and forgot much of the French she learned in middle and high school, but remained bilingual in Vietnamese and English.

Elyse held a bachelor's degree in Sociology from State University and completed a post-baccalaureate degree in elementary education immediately after graduation. Her

first teaching job was as the K-5 Vietnamese bilingual teacher at an elementary CCISD school; wanting her own classroom, she taught general education students in first and third grades at another campus for a few years before transferring to Bittner Elementary. At Bittner, she was highly active in campus innovations in the Maker movement within the field of science. Elyse was recognized by her campus as Teacher of the Year during the 2014-2015 school year and admitted feeling most comfortable teaching math and science and considered herself to be weakest in the area of social studies. In fact, because she was departmentalized at her previous campus and during her first year at Bittner, the 2015-2016 school year was the second time in her ten-year career that she was responsible for planning and teaching social studies.

Bittner Elementary was the only CCISD campus that offered a Korean bilingual education program and had a diverse student population due to its proximity to State University graduate housing, with 9% of its students identified as Asian American. While Bittner was located in a historic neighborhood where homes for sale averaged just under a million dollars, a fraction of its students lived in a local Salvation Army shelter. The 2015-2016 school year was Elyse's tenth year of teaching, during which she taught all subjects in a third grade self-contained English classroom and was one of three Asian American teachers on campus. Elyse's class included children born in China and Korea in addition to children of immigrants from Europe and South America, but the majority were white students from upper middle class and upper class families. After dealing with a difficult colleague for several years at Bittner, Elyse moved to a private Christian school to teach fourth grade for the 2016-2017 school year.

Virginia Ye

Virginia identified as Chinese American. She was born in Texas to immigrants from Hong Kong; her parents were working-class Southern Baptists for whom church and Chinese community were extremely important. She had a strict upbringing which she thought may have resulted in her rebellious nature as an adult/educator. Although she was surrounded by Chinese Americans throughout her childhood, she described having very few Asian American friends in Central City. She spoke English, Cantonese, and understood some Mandarin and Spanish.

Virginia held a bachelor's degree in elementary education and a master's degree in curriculum and instruction with a specialization in language and literacy from State University. She was a certified Master Reading Teacher who was heavily involved with preservice teacher mentoring at State University for several years and was recognized by peers and university faculty as an exemplary literacy teacher. She acknowledged a strong social justice orientation in her teaching and was a former campus Teacher of the Year – an honor, she pointed out in an interview, that wasn't given to her because she was quiet. She considered herself to be a social justice teacher and cited a former grade level peer and her campus reading specialist as role models who inspired her to teach nontraditional stories and other perspectives.

Virginia spent all eight years of her teaching career in CCISD at Bishop Elementary, a Title I campus with a 98% Latinx and African American student population with no students identified as Asian American during the 2015-2016 school year. Bishop Elementary was located in southeast Central City, a predominantly Latinx area where few Asian Americans resided. Virginia was the only Asian American teacher

on her campus and her students were Latinx, African American, and mixed race with one student who identified as part Filipino; there were no white students in her class, and most students came from working class families. During the spring 2016 semester, Virginia had a student teacher whose teaching responsibilities increased in March and April such that, although she was not in a testing grade like the other study participants, she was unable to directly instruct students in Asian American history until May. After a year filled with challenges in her personal relationships, Virginia committed to teaching in Guatemala from the fall of 2016 until the spring of 2018. She was amenable to the possibility of returning to Bishop after her teaching contract in Guatemala ended in 2018.

Krishnan Kamath

Krishnan identified as Indian American or *Desi* (a Hindi word frequently used to refer to South Asians and the South Asian diaspora) and was born in Kenya to parents of Indian descent. His family immigrated to the United States when he was two years old, and as the son of a doctor he was enrolled in a series of private schools. In the absence of a Jain temple in the Texas city where they lived, Krishnan's parents sent him to religious classes at the local Hindu temple where he was active in the Hindu Youth Association. He described being enamored with Spanish and Latin America, something he attributed to growing up in a predominantly Latinx city. He grew up speaking English and Gujarati and was fluent in Hindi and Spanish.

Krishnan received an undergraduate degree in architectural studies at a private institution outside of Central City and became a Spanish bilingual elementary teacher through alternative certification several years later. His ten-year teaching career was

bookended in CCISD while the middle part of his career was spent teaching and training teachers in India, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. Disillusioned with the testing pressure in CCISD but inspired by summers spent as a volunteer teacher in India, Krishnan left CCISD after three years to join the Peace Corps in Nicaragua. After two years of service as an environmental educator, he taught at an indigenous English immersion school in Guatemala before returning to Central City and taking a position at Sobey Elementary as a dual language teacher. Krishnan was the only study participant who taught observed lessons in a language other than English (Spanish) and with previous teaching experience in international contexts.

Sobey Elementary was located south of downtown Central City in a neighborhood transformed by gentrification in the last decade; homes for sale on the streets surrounding the school sold for well over one million dollars. However, Sobey was zoned to a large nearby public housing complex and, until the 2015-2016 school year, was historically a Title I campus. A major contributor to Sobey's change in designation and student population was its Spanish two-way dual language program, initiated in 2010 when the school faced possible closure due to low enrollment. The Spanish dual language program was particularly appealing to middle and upper class English monolingual families as well as heritage Spanish speakers who transferred in from all over Central City; however Sobey struggled to balance affluent, monolingual English transfer students with native Spanish-speaking students. The 2015-2016 academic year was Krishan's second year at Sobey and he was responsible for Spanish language instruction in third and fifth grades in language arts, science, and social studies. He was one of two South Asian American

teachers on campus; an additional teacher has one Korean parent. In Krishnan's third grade class, there was only one native Spanish speaker out of sixteen students; in his fifth grade class, there were five native Spanish speakers out of fifteen total students. Frustrated by the lack of enthusiasm and engagement by his non-native Spanish-speaking students at Sobey, Krishnan resigned from CCISD at the end of the 2015-2016 school year and spent the summer of 2016 teaching at a Quaker school in Palestine. He resumed employment at Sobey in the fall of 2016, becoming the bilingual reading specialist so he could work exclusively with struggling learners in Spanish.

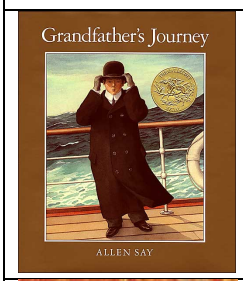
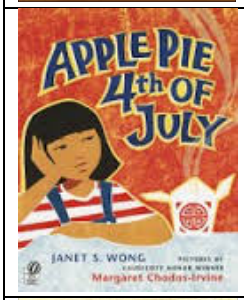
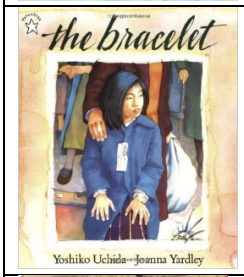
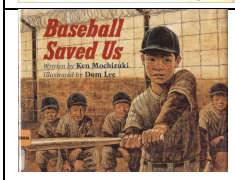
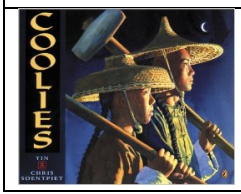
Table 3: Teacher Participants, Ethnic & Cultural Diversity

Pseudonym	Ethnicity	Birthplace	Immigrant Generation	Languages Spoken	Religion
Elyse Huynh	Vietnamese American	Germany	1.5	English, Vietnamese	Christian
Krishnan Kamath	Indian American	Kenya	1.5	English, Hindi, Gujarati, Spanish	Hindu/Jain
Virginia Ye	Chinese American	U.S.A.	2	English, Cantonese	Southern Baptist

Table 4: Teacher Participants, Professional Experience

Pseudonym	Grade(s)/Subject(s) Taught	Years Teaching	Degrees/Teacher Preparation
Elyse Huynh	3rd Grade, All Subjects	10	B.A. in Sociology, Post-baccalaureate in Elementary Education
Krishnan Kamath	3rd & 5th Grade, Spanish Language Arts, Social Studies & Science	6	B.A. in Architectural Studies, Texas Teaching Fellows
Virginia Ye	2nd Grade, All Subjects	8	B.S. in Elementary Education, M.Ed. in Language & Literacy

Table 5: Children's literature provided to participants at 2/4/16 CCISD PD workshop.

Children's Book	Title & Author	Grade Level	Study participants who received this book
	*Grandfather's Journey,* Allen Say	K-1	none
	*Apple Pie Fourth of July*, Janet Wong	K-1	none
	*The Bracelet* by Yoshido Uchida	2-3	Elyse (taught on 2/24/16) Virginia (2/23-2/24/16)
	*Baseball Saved Us* by Ken Mochizuki	2-5	Elyse (taught on 3/7-3/8/16), Virginia (student teacher read aloud), Krishnan (did not use for instruction)
	*Coolies* by Yin	3-5	Krishnan (did not use for instruction)

CCISD Professional Development on Asian American History

CCISD approached me in the fall of 2015 to consult on an elementary-focused professional development (PD) about Asian American history for the spring 2016 semester. When I met with the CCISD head of elementary social studies in September 2015, she presented me with a prepared list of children's literature that would encourage elementary teachers to integrate social studies and language arts during Asian Pacific Islander Heritage Month in May 2016 (Table 5). The list, divided by grade levels, was designed to motivate teachers to focus on two significant periods in Asian American history about which children's literature was available in CCISD school libraries: Chinese immigration in the 1800s and Japanese American incarceration during World War II. At this meeting, I was invited to speak at the PD for 20-30 minutes about the significance of Asian American history and provide teachers with background information on Asian immigration and Japanese American incarceration.

A month before the February 2016 PD, the district provided each attending teacher with the two selections of children's literature designated for their grade level, a Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL) curriculum and resource guide, and a link to images of Japanese incarceration from the Library of Congress. At the training, attendees collaborated with other grade-level peers to create lesson plans and activities for district-wide distribution during Asian Pacific American Heritage Month in May 2016. I brought roughly four dozen additional pieces of children's literature for all attendees to peruse and stayed for the duration of the training to provide content support as needed. The six teachers who agreed to participate in this research project were all in attendance and were the only Asian American teachers present at the PD. They were

seated by grade levels (kinder/first, second/third, fourth/fifth) and then broke into smaller groups; Elyse, a third grade teacher, and Virginia, a second grade teacher, were in the same work group with several other second and third grade teachers. Krishnan, who taught both third and fifth grades, opted to sit with the upper elementary teachers, two of whom were Asian American and consented to this project but ultimately did not teach any Asian American history lessons. Although each participant worked with their grade level group to create an Asian American history lesson plan for CCISD, they did not use these lessons in their classrooms during the course of this study. At this PD, I provided the six teachers who agreed to participate in this study with a binder of additional resources on Asian American history (Table 6).

Data Collection & Analysis

Critical race theory in education is a tool that recognizes the Eurocentricity that guides educational scholarship and the operation of racism, sexism, classism, and other systems of oppression within educational institutions (Huber, 2009). As part of this approach to research, I drew from feminist methodology to reveal "the subjugated knowledge of the diversity of women's realities that often lie hidden and unarticulated" (Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 113) while being cognizant of my relationship to those I interviewed and my power and authority over data collection. Hesse-Biber (2007) maintains that feminist researchers practice reflexivity through the research process in order to keep the researcher mindful of her personal positionality and that of the respondents, bearing in mind issues of representation in regard to those being researched.

Table 6: Technical curriculum provided to participants at 2/4/16 CCISD PD workshop.

Section Title	Section Contents
Asian American Children's Literature	• Lesson plans excerpted from the Massachusetts Asian American Educators Assocation's *Asian American Studies Curriculum Resource Guide* for *Angel Child, Dragon Child* and *Journey to Topaz* • Lesson plans from Scholastic for *Dear Miss Breed, Inside Out and Back Again,* and *The Journal of Ben Uchida* • Lesson plans from Dia Family Book Club for *A Place Where Sunflowers Grow, Cora Cooks Pancit, My Dadima Wears a Sari,* and *My Mother's Sari* • Allen Say Author Study by Sarah Shivler • *A Single Shard* lesson plan from InfoKorea • *Baseball Saved Us* and *Dear Miss Breed* lesson plans from the Smithsonian National Museum of American History • Lesson plans from Lee & Low Books for *Baseball Saved Us* and *Día's Story Cloth* • *The Bracelet* lesson plan by Jessica Medlin • *Coolies* lesson plan by Yin • *Gaijin* discussion guide by Disney Hyperion • *Inside Out and Back Again* discussion guide by Harper Collins • *Secret Identities* discussion guide by The New Press
Historical Thinking	• *What does it mean to think historically... and how do you teach it?* by Bruce VanSledright • *A Picture's Worth: Analyzing historical photographs in the elementary grades* by Keith Barton • *Primary Source Analysis Guides* from the Library of Congress
Asian Immigration	• *Annotated Bibliographies* by Noreen • *Asian Immigrants and Refugee Instructional Unit* by Noreen • *Family Journeys Classroom Companion* by the Museum of Chinese in America • *Story Cloths of Immigration* by the Arizona Department of Education • *Making a Story Cloth* from Multicultural Holidays • *Images of Immigration - A Poetry Experience*by Sarah Manuel • Multiple lesson plans excerpted from the Massachusetts Asian American Educators Assocation's *Asian American Studies Curriculum Resource Guide*

Table 6: Technical curriculum provided to participants at 2/4/16 CCISD PD workshop (continued)

Chinese in the 1800s	• *Timeline of Chinese American History* by the Museum of Chinese in America • *Chinese Exclusion and Angel Island* by Noreen • *Faces of Immigration: Angel Island* by Maryland State Department of Education
Japanese Incarceration	• *Causes of the Japanese American Incarceration* by the Densho Project • *Chronology of the Japanese American Incarceration* from the Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive (JARDA) • *A Note on Terminoloy* from the Densho Project • *Using Children's Literature to Make History Come Alive: Discussing Prejudice and the Japanese Internment* by Susan Potucek • *Learning Activities based on Children's Literature* from the Japanese American Citizens League • Multiple lesson plans excerpted from the Massachusetts Asian American Educators Assocation's *Asian American Studies Curriculum Resource Guide* • Japanese American internment primary source set from the Library of Congress
Asian Americans in the Civil Rights Movement	• *Asian Americans in the Civil Rights Movement* by Noreen Naseem • *International Hotel's Final Victory* by the International Hotel
Other Asian American Groups & Topics	• Anti-Defamation League's *A World of Difference* Anti-Bias Study Guide - Culture lesson, 2015. • *History of the Hmong and Hmong Art*, excerpted from the Field Guide to Hmong culture by the Madison Children's Museum, 2004.

I also drew from critical race methodologies such as the production of counterstories and *testimonio* to balance hegemonic representations of the experiences of Asian Americans (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Delgado Bernal, Burciaga, and Carmona (2012) describe *testimonio* as a research participant's "critical reflection of their personal

experience within particular sociopolitical realities" that "engages the personal and collective aspects of identity formation while translating choices, silences, and ultimately identities" (p. 364). In LatCrit, *testimonio* scholarship places Latinx/Chicanx scholars as "outside" allies and activities who bring attention to the conditions of a particular group of Latinx . Throughout this study I attempt to use AsianCrit in similar ways.

Interviews

Interviews provide researchers with information about how people behave, feel, and interpret the world around them (Merriam, 2009). Patton (2002) described interviewing as an opportunity for researchers to enter other people's perspectives. However, interviews are intimate encounters that depend on building trust (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Feminist researchers may utilize in-depth interviews to access hidden knowledges and experiences through a co-creation of meaning that more closely resembles a conversation between participants rather than a question-and-answer session (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Some feminist researchers stress the importance of the researcher sharing her biography with the researched during interviews; by sharing identities and stories with one another, reciprocity and rapport are increased while the notions of power and authority invested in the role of the researcher are broken down (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Oakley, 1981).

All three participants in this study engaged in three semi-structured in-depth interviews outside of the school space (see Appendix, Interview Protocol A-C). Each of these interviews took place over meals or coffee and lasted one to two hours in length. The first interview, conducted prior to classroom data collection, focused on the

participant's cultural background, family, and personal experiences in school. The second interview, conducted within a week of their first observation, explored their reasons for entering the teaching profession, their teaching philosophy and goals, and established context for both their classrooms and campuses. The third interview took place after the end of the school year and served as an opportunity to reflect on their pedagogical choices and understandings of citizenship, to consider how they might teach Asian American history in the future, and discuss how our conversations about race and culture over the course of the semester influenced their personal and professional lives. At the third interview, participants were also provided with student work samples and/or transcripts of a project related to Asian American history from their classrooms and were asked to reflect on their students' learning and their instructional decisions during that particular lesson.

Aside from these three lengthy semi-structured interviews, multiple informal lesson debriefs and lesson planning discussions occurred within the school space. Before and after lessons were taught, the teachers sat down with me during their lunch and planning times, in their classrooms and school libraries, to describe what they were planning, what they observed while teaching, and to explain their instructional decisions. These informal interviews occurred at the teachers' convenience and were often unplanned and interrupted, but provided valuable insight into the many decisions that took place in the moment. Some lengthier reflective conversations also took place via Skype in the evening, allowing the teachers more reflection time when their hectic

schedules did not permit an immediate post-lesson debrief. All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and provided to the participants for member checking.

Classroom Observations

Observation is a data collection method central to qualitative research that discovers complex interactions in natural social settings (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Unlike interviews, classroom observations take place in settings where teaching and learning naturally occur, representing firsthand encounters. Observations can triangulate emerging findings as well as provide context and specific examples that may be addressed in subsequent interviews (Merriam, 2009). Participant observation demands that the researcher hear, see, and experience reality as the participants do (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Merriam (2009) therefore described participant observation as "a schizophrenic activity in that the researcher usually participates but not to the extent of becoming totally absorbed in the activity. While participating, the researcher tries to stay sufficiently detached to observe and analyze" (p. 126). Therefore, participant observation can be difficult, as it requires self-reflection and a balance between engagement and detachment (Patton, 2002).

A minimum of six observations were conducted in each participant's classroom. My role as participant observer varied based on the lesson and age of students being observed. Observations were audio-recorded, and in some cases two audio recorders were used on opposite sides of the classroom to capture as many student conversations as possible. During observations, field notes were written, setting diagrams were drawn, and photographs of any relevant writing on the dry erase board were taken; any videos shown

in class or books referenced or read aloud were documented such that moments when videos were paused to allow for clarification were noted for timestamps and pages/ paragraphs where the teacher stopped to ask questions were also explicitly described in the field notes and transcriptions. Field notes usually included direct quotations of both students and teacher; descriptions of the setting and layout of the people in the classroom; activities throughout the lesson; and my own reflective comments throughout.

Artifacts

Artifacts are documents usually produced for reasons other than the research at hand and are therefore not subject to the same limitations - they do not intrude upon or alter the setting as the presence of the researcher might and are readily accessible (Merriam, 1998). The artifacts collected in this study ranged from PowerPoint slides created by teachers for the purpose of direct instruction to pieces of children's literature and teacher-scribed notes on the dry erase board during a classroom discussion. Some examples of student artifacts collected for this study included group-created posters on chart paper, photographs of students' research notes, and reading reflection journals. The vast majority of artifacts were collected and stored digitally in photo or electronic form; student artifacts were only collected for students who obtained parental consent.

Data Analysis

Data collection and analysis are an ongoing process of making meaning (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). The practical goal of data analysis is to find answers to the research question and requires the development of categories and codes for data to formulate themes, patterns, and ultimately, findings or

answers to the research question (Merriam, 1998). When data is gathered through multiple sources (interviews, classroom observations, and artifacts), triangulation occurs as data is compared and cross-checked (Merriam, 1998) to ensure validity and reliability.

Merriam (1998) explained, "The sense we make of the data we collect is equally influenced by the theoretical framework. That is, our analysis and interpretation... will reflect the constructs, concepts, language, models, and theories that structured the study in the first place" (p. 48). First cycle coding occurred with all interview and observation transcripts and artifact data in the form of descriptive and en vivo codes. AsianCrit served as a guiding lens to determine codes describing the ways race, culture, experience, language, and history intersected, resulting in codes such as “sharing stories of self,” “family history,” “language use,” and “anti-essentialization.” The theoretical frameworks of curricular enactment and the dominant narrative of history also led to codes such as “instructional decisions,” “citizenship,” “connections across racial/ethnic groups,” “addressing (in)equality/(in)justice,” and “students recognize (in)equality/(in)justice.”

After an initial descriptive and en vivo coding of all data, values coding was conducted to analyze the participants’ perspectives and worldviews in regard to issues such as the teaching of diverse historical narratives and institutional racism. According to Saldaña (2009), values coding is particularly appropriate for case studies that “explore cultural values and intrapersonal and interpersonal participant experiences and actions” (p. 95). Analytical memos were also written during first cycle coding to begin to synthesize emerging patterns and themes. These memos included reflections on my

personal/ethnic connections to the participants, reflections on the teachers' instructional decisions, and comments on the student responses to the content (Saldaña, 2009).

During second cycle coding, similarly coded passages were assigned pattern codes, such as “teaching students what they didn’t learn in school” and “learning from the past.” Given the wide array of data forms, axial coding was used to examine specific data sources that were common among two or three participants. Axial coding groups similarly coded data in a wide variety of forms and can "bring codes and analytic memos to life and help the researcher see where the story of the data is going" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 161). Some examples of axial coding included "teaching about difference," "who is citizen," and "Asian American agency/resistance."

Trustworthiness

Multiple approaches were used in this study to ensure trustworthiness. First, triangulation of multiple sources of data was conducted for each participant (see Table 7). For example, the application of values coding to interview transcripts, observation transcripts, and field notes corroborated coding and enhanced trustworthiness of findings by addressing whether the participants' attitudes and beliefs expressed in interviews were also addressed in their classroom observations and instructional decisions (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993 cited in Saldaña, 2009). Second, participants received electronic copies of all interview and classroom transcripts in order to provide member checks for internal validity. Third, peer review and debriefing was conducted, particularly in regard to the teacher's understanding of the dominant narrative of history and their ethnic identities. As

I conducted these peer reviews, I consulted both Asian American educators as well as non-Asian elementary educators to consider multiple viewpoints during my analysis.

Table 7: Spring 2016 Lesson Observation Index

Participant	Lesson Topic	Date(s)	Content Codes
ELYSE	Peacemakers (Baseline)	1/13, 1/15	P
	World War II/Japanese Incarceration*	2/24 (*The Bracelet*) 3/7, 3/8 (*Baseball Saved Us*) 3/9-3/11 Presentations	CL, V, P
	Inside Out & Back Again/local history*	4/19	CL, LHS
KRISHNAN	Martin Luther King, Jr. (Baseline – 3rd)	1/14	CL
	Afro-Latinos (Baseline – 5th)	1/14	V
	Asian American Immigration*	2/16-2/17, 2/19 (*Me Llamo Yoon*), 2/22-2/23 (*The Name Jar*)	CL, PS, P
	Japanese Incarceration*	5/23, 5/25-5/26	CL, PS, V, LHS, P
VIRGINIA	Social Justice Writing (Baseline)	2/22	
	Japanese Incarceration	2/23-2/24 (*The Bracelet*)	PS, CL
	Education Book Flood	3/21	PS
	Nasreen's Secret School	3/28	CL
	Social Change Unit	5/2-5/6, 5/11, 5/17-5/19, 5/24-5/26 (*Sylvia & Aki*)	CL, PS, V, LHS, P

CONTENT CODES
CL = Children's Literature PS = Primary Sources V = Video/Film
LHS = Local history slideshow P = Student Project/Presentation

RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

Banks (1998) said, "The hearts of social scientists exercise a cogent influence on research questions, findings, concepts, generalizations, and theories" (pp. 4-5). Banks uses "heart" as a metaphor for researchers' beliefs, commitments, and generalized principles. As an Asian American former elementary teacher, current teacher educator,

and mother of two mixed-race children, this work is deeply connected to my heart. First, I believe Asian American teachers' voices are grossly underrepresented in educational research and that they have distinct experiences and knowledges that can be immensely valuable to their colleagues and students.

As an undergraduate student in my teacher preparation program, I did not learn that teachers of color often faced unique challenges in schools dominated by White faculty. In my first years as a Spanish/English bilingual teacher, I discovered that my bilingual students often used the term "*chino*" to refer to anything Asian: food, languages, it was all *chino*. It then occurred to me that I would likely be the only Asian American teacher they would have – I had no Asian American teachers in my K-12 career and saw no Asian American teachers in my elementary, middle, and high schools. However, when I returned to graduate school for my doctorate and began teaching undergraduates pursuing elementary certification, I was stunned to see Asian American students in my classes. When I was an undergraduate, I was the only Asian American in all of my classes and the sole Asian American representative in my student organizations. Throughout my educational career, I felt like an ethnic anomaly and was pleasantly surprised to discover that more Asian Americans were entering teaching today. In an educational atmosphere that continues to struggle with the needs of both teachers and students of color but tends to overlook the experiences of Asian Americans, I believe this growing group of teachers deserves space to express their voices and should have opportunities to see their own (hi)stories in the curriculum they teach and learn.

Second, I am committed to a critical research stance that strives to recognize and counter the racism and white supremacy inherent to dominant school curriculum and American institutions. I am the American-born child of immigrants from Pakistan and the Philippines – a self-identified Pakipina. I understand all too well the distinctions Wertsch (2000) describes between the official histories of school and the unofficial histories of home. The stories of individual, social, economic, and political struggle in their homelands and upon arrival in the U.S. shared by my parents, family, and friends were never present in my school textbooks. In school, I never learned any context for how my parents were able to come to America, as conversations about immigration were limited to European immigrants who arrived in Ellis Island at the turn of the 19th century. I did not hear my parents' native languages of Tagalog and Urdu uttered in school and did not have access to learning their languages in formal educational settings. Knowledges, histories, and ways of being related to Asia were always absent in school. Outside school settings, I discovered the work of Rushdie, Lahiri, Roy, and Seth, which opened never-before-seen windows to the South Asian immigrant experience. But that experience was not mine, it was my father's and his friends. While informative, it did not describe *me.*

I did not discover a book written by someone who was half-Filipinx like me until I was 30 years old, when a graduate school assignment required us to read *Immigrant Students and Literacy* (Campano, 2007). Campano's descriptions of his *lolo* (Tagalog for "grandfather") struck a chord that no other piece of academic literature had before. When I completed my Master's in bilingual/bicultural education, I learned about *Lau v. Nichols* but otherwise was ignorant to the segregation faced by Asian American children in

schools – I did not know that Chinese Americans Mamie Tape and Martha Lum had also been refused admittance or removed from all-White schools. I did not know how substantive a history Asians had in America until 2014 when, at the age of 34, I first learned that Filipinos landed in Morro Bay, California in 1587, Bengali merchants came to Harlem at the turn of the twentieth century, and the famous Delano grape strike associated with César Chavez was actually started by Filipino farmworkers. In spite of nearly twenty years spent in classrooms from kindergarten to a Master's degree, I was denied any substantive coverage of Asian American history in school.

I do not blame these omissions on my teachers. They were largely caring, dedicated individuals who attended to other academic needs and interests and led me on a path of success. I do not blame these omissions on the individual schools I attended, which utilized state-approved textbooks but served me well in spite of that. I do, however, blame institutional structures and a history of racism in the United States for determining the official history of our country as told from the perspective of White men in power. I blame the institutions and organizations that consider the rich (hi)stories of people of color to be supplementary instead of essential, divisive instead of pluralist, but I am not content with laying blame. Darder and Torres (2003) asked, "What actions must be taken to dismantle these inequalities?" (p. 259). I believe working directly with teachers and students to actively transform the teaching of history is the most immediate way to dismantle racial inequalities for all students. I recognized that the participants in this study might have varying understandings of both traditional U.S. history *and* the histories of their families' countries of origin, as well as the role of race and racism in

American society, and that this was likely the first time they attempted to have extensive conversations about Asian Americans and Asian Americanness with their students. I was particularly cognizant of the different ways that East and South Asian Americans are perceived in society and portrayed in the media and understand that my experiences and histories as an intraracial Asian American are not the same as other Asian Americans.

Third, I am committed to conducting empirical research in elementary classrooms. The divide between the ivory tower of academia and the trenches of public schools is wide and ever-growing, and my commitment to bettering education for all is my reason for pursuing a doctorate and this line of research. John Cotton Dana said, "Who dares to teach, must never cease to learn." This quote aptly describes the teaching philosophy I have held since I was first hired by CCISD in 2004. I believe that the best teacher educators have one foot in the academy and one foot in the classroom, and I am staunchly dedicated to listening to and learning from the teaching experiences of current educators and the learning experiences of students to do my part to improve the state of education. While I taught in public schools during a time when standardized testing limited multiple aspects of our instruction, I realize that in many contemporary public education settings, including those in which I was conducting research, things are worse and/or different from what I experienced. Learning about each participant's distinct school context, teaching philosophy, and student population was vital to this work.

Lastly, a guiding principal of this work is that there is no single immigrant experience. There is no singular way to be Asian American. By recognizing, articulating, and reiterating the extraordinary diversity and complexity of Asian Americans, I hope to

dismantle essentializing notions and reveal the complexities in Asian American stories. I recognize that my experiences as a Pakipina born and raised in Texas are unique, as were those of the teacher participants in this study. Yet we also shared common stories and experiences related to culture, language, and religion as members of a group often misunderstood by larger society. Revealing these similarities and differences can deepen understanding for everyone and foster cross-cultural solidarity. I hope I have represented my participants in ways that depict their lived experiences with respect and dignity.

PILOT STUDIES

I conducted several pilot studies which informed various components of this research design. The first pilot was a study of five Asian American pre-service teachers. Once I discovered the increase in Asian American undergraduates pursuing education, I wanted to learn more about these prospective teachers' cultural and educational influences and reasons for entering teaching. I also wanted to determine if they were conscious of the absence of Asian Americans from U.S. history curriculum and if they supplemented missing histories with narratives from home/family or other sources. After conducting hour-long interviews with each prospective teacher, I analyzed their responses to determine common themes of what they wished their peers and teachers knew/understood about what it meant to be Asian American, both in their K-12 experience and in their present undergraduate setting. The resultant findings led to the creation of a series of lessons about Asian American history designed for elementary students. Two interviewees reviewed the lessons and provided feedback before the

lessons were taught to several CCISD elementary classes in celebration of Asian Pacific American Heritage Month in May 2014.

The second pilot study focused on the implementation of Asian American history lessons in May 2014. The lessons were taught in kindergarten (1), first grade (1), second grade (1), third grade (2), and a mixed third/fourth grade classroom (1) in a middle-class CCISD elementary school to a total of six classes. Although lesson plans were offered to the classroom teachers, they asked me to teach their students while they provided support due to their lack of familiarity with the lesson content. This revealed the educators' lack of familiarity and comfort with teaching Asian American history. Lessons were adapted for each grade level and the third/fourth grade classroom participated in a full three-day instructional unit while the other classes had single day lessons. A paper entitled "Who are Asians?" was based on lesson findings and was presented at the 2014 College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council of the Social Studies.

A third pilot study drew from my initial work with pre-service teachers. In my position as a university facilitator, I was assigned two Asian American pre-service teachers: Pakistani American Parveen Khan and Korean American Selene Ong. I supervised Parveen and Selene during three semesters of field placements including student teaching, during which I reviewed their lesson plans, conducted observations, and discussed interactions with their mentor teachers and students. We did one additional interview each semester focused on the interactions between their culture and teaching. After Parveen and Selene graduated from their teacher education program, I analyzed the data collected during our year and a half working together and composed a paper entitled

"(E)Merging Identities: A Case Study of Two Asian American Pre-Service Teachers" which was presented at the American Educational Research Association in 2015.

I found that the prospective teachers encountered cultural and instructional dissonance and consonance in their field placements. Selene was the subject of many essentializing comments from students and teachers, from a child expecting her to eat rice and fortune cookies to a teacher asking, "Are you sure?" when she said she did not speak Mandarin. Parveen, in contrast, connected with Asian American students in powerful ways due to their shared culture and language. One day her Pakistani student Suhail began to count aloud in Urdu then stopped abruptly when he realized no one else was counting with him; Parveen, bilingual in Urdu and English, encouraged Suhail to continue by counting aloud with him in front of the entire class. In another instance, she supported an Indian student who described cricket as his favorite sport by explaining the game to the rest of the class. Both Selene and Parveen were enrolled in ESL classes in kindergarten, which impacted their own practices in the classroom through greater understanding and patience with emergent bilingual students. These Asian American pre-service teachers held cultural and linguistic capital that went ignored in their teacher education classes but proved invaluable in their field placements, setting them apart from their mentor teachers and peers.

A fourth pilot study explored the intersections of cultural and teacher identity among South Asian American pre-service teachers. My colleague Venkat Ramaprasad and I interviewed five South Asian American pre-service teachers pursuing elementary and secondary certification. As noted with Selene and Parveen, the prospective teachers

were bilingual and bicultural but their cultural and linguistic assets were not capitalized in their teacher education program. The pre-service teachers found culture largely absent from their coursework, with the exception of one student pursuing bilingual certification. Additionally, none of the South Asian American undergraduates identified themselves as Asian American. Although the participants' immigrant parents ranged in nationality from Sri Lankan to Indian to Pakistani, most referred to themselves and other South Asians as "Brown" and used Asian American to refer to people of East Asian descent. This study pointed to the typical associations of Asian/Asian American with particular East Asian countries (namely China and Japan) and demonstrated the invisibility of South Asian Americans in discussions about Asian America.

These pilot studies greatly informed the research questions and design of this study. My work with Asian American pre-service teachers and investigations into their teacher and cultural identity heightened my awareness of their depth of experience and knowledge and how directly such experiences and knowledges can impact their classroom practice. However, I discovered that in their role as student interns and/or student teachers they did not have the autonomy to address and integrate culture into instruction in ideal ways. Many of my participants described how they would do things *if they were in their own classrooms*; in spaces where they were not the teacher of record, they were necessarily limited in their ability to make instructional decisions and reach out to students and their families. While Parveen and Selene became exemplary classroom teachers, they teach in cities several hours away from Central City so it was not possible to continue following their work. Nonetheless, the study I conducted with them inspired

me to find like-minded, experienced Asian American teachers who may also be wrestling with ways to more meaningfully integrate their and other cultures into the curriculum.

In terms of curriculum, another project opened the door for greater attention to Asian American history in CCISD. In May 2015, a full-day professional development workshop focused on revealing Asian American history was offered by CCISD to kindergarten through eighth grade teachers. After an historical overview provided by acclaimed Chinese American historian Dr. Madeline Hsu, a group of two dozen teachers were guided through a series of instructional units based on different periods of Asian American history: Chinese Exclusion and Angel Island; Filipino Farmworkers in California; Japanese Incarceration during World War II; Asian Americans in the Civil Rights Movement; and Asian Immigration and Refugees post-1965. The units – the first of their kind developed for district use – integrated language arts and social studies through children's literature, utilized historical thinking with primary sources, and provided grade-appropriate learning activities and historical background for teachers. CCISD published the units into teacher guides and continued its efforts to widen historical narratives by hosting the follow-up workshop in February 2016.

CHAPTER 4: ENACTING ASIAN AMERICAN HISTORY: LESSONS (UN)LEARNED & (RE)CONSTRUCTING NARRATIVES

> How silly, thus, how monumentally foolish, for any one person or any one group- whether spaced, raced, gendered, sexualized, or classed- to claim the plenitude of America's past, to claim it as singular or to own it as if that person, that group, were the sole purveyors of "American history." The subject, the title, belongs to us all.
>
> *Margins & Mainstreams,* Gary Y. Okihiro

INTRODUCTION

The version of U.S. history that is taught in schools is generally a story of progress, exceptionalism, and freedom with the assumption of a unified society and a deemphasis on racial, ethnic, class, and gender distinctions (Levstik & Barton, 2011; Loewen, 1995; VanSledright, 2008; Zimmerman, 2002). However, this dominant narrative may be a source of conflict for many students in our increasingly diverse nation, who learn drastically different stories of history from family, in the media, and in books (Epstein, 2010; Wertsch, 2000). For the majority of U.S. history, American laws declared at least two-thirds of the domestic adult population legally ineligible for full citizenship based on race, nationality, or gender (Haney-López, 1996; Smith, 1997). Even as legal citizenship and naturalization became accessible to various groups over time, widespread political and economic disenfranchisement greatly affected the ability of many individuals to engage in full democratic participation (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; San Miguel, 1999; Tillet, 2012). Although the preparation of students for participation in a pluralist democracy is often cited as a primary purpose of social studies (Dewey, 1916; Parker,

2003), school curricula often mask the fact that the history of civic identity in the United States does not reflect the American creed of inclusion and equality (Myrdal, 1944).

Asian American History in School Curriculum

Asian Americans have a contentious civic history as the first and only immigrant group for whom legislation was crafted for their specific exclusion, in addition to long-standing bans on naturalization and ownership of property. Thus Ancheta (1998) argues that anti-Asian American subordination in the United States has historically been, and continues to be, centered on citizenship, making race a "site of struggle for cultural, economic, as well as political membership in the United States" (Lowe, 1996, p. ix). However, in official school curriculum, this struggle is often hidden. In a recent review of ten states' K-12 U.S. history standards, An (2016) found minimal attention paid to Asian American history with only two events commonly addressed: Chinese immigrants in the West in the 1800s and Japanese American incarceration[14] during World War II, results that echoed previous examinations of U.S. history textbooks (Harada, 2000; Suh, An, & Forest, 2015; Wolf, 1992; Zuercher, 1969). The standards An (2016) reviewed revealed an almost exclusive attention to Chinese or Japanese immigrants (neglecting to acknowledge the wide diversity of modern Asian America) and depicted Asian Americans as victims of anti-Asian laws and sentiment or as immigrants, often reinforcing perceptions of Asian Americans as forever foreigners (Tuan, 1998) and disregarding Asian American activism and resistance. In elementary schools, Chinese immigration and Japanese American incarceration are rarely addressed and Asian

[14] Following Daniels (2005), I use "incarceration" rather than "internment" for its legal accuracy in describing what happened to 120,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans in the U.S. during World War II.

Americans may only be mentioned in regard to holiday celebrations and food (Hartlep & Scott, 2016). Such depictions generally represent Asians rather than Asian Americans and often perpetuate exotic stereotypes that emphasize difference and continue to situate Asian Americans as foreign Others (Pang, Colvin, Tran, & Barba, 1992).

Technical vs. Enacted Curriculum

This qualitative case study took place in an urban school district in Texas, one of the earliest states to develop public school accountability systems which later served as a model for the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 (Heilig & Darling-Hammond, 2008). Moreover, in 2010, the Texas Board of Education approved yet another decidedly conservative and Anglocentric overhaul of the social studies curriculum (McKinley, 2010) which influenced subsequent curricular adoptions. For the three participants in this study, Krishnan, Elyse, and Virginia (pseudonyms), the technical curriculum (Cornbleth, 1985) provided by Central City Independent School District (CCISD) to all social studies teachers for the 2015-2016 school year was *Social Studies Weekly*, a newspaper-formatted weekly consumable that aligned to the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS) and replaced the textbooks used for decades prior.

However, none of the three teachers enacted this technical curriculum during the spring 2016 semester, instead opting to create their own social studies units using picture-books, media, primary sources, and other resources. At the CCISD Asian American history PD workshop in February 2016, the teachers were provided with what could be conceived as another technical curricula to facilitate the teaching of alternative histories: two Asian American picture books and a binder of additional resources (see Tables 5 &

6). Elyse and Virginia used the picture books provided to them in addition to select resources from the resource binder to teach Asian American history to their students: Elyse used one lesson plan created by the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), while Virginia used photographs from the Library of Congress (described in Chapter 5). In contrast, Krishnan did not directly use any resources provided at the Asian American history PD and instead assembled his own instructional materials.

While technical curriculum refers strictly to the packaged instructional materials, enacted curriculum (the curriculum-in-use) takes into account the joint construction by teachers, students and materials in particular contexts (Cornbleth, 1985). Ball and Cohen (1996) identify five domains through which teachers enact curriculum: 1) students' learning needs, interests, and overall learning goals; 2) their own content understandings and how to focus and frame material for students; 3) selection of instructional resources and the construction of units and lesson plans; 4) intellectual and social environment of their classrooms; and 5) influences from the broader community and policy contexts. Understandably, due to their different school and classroom contexts and varied pedagogies, Elyse, Krishnan, and Virginia approached each of these domains differently; however, their shared identities as Asian Americans impacted their instructional approaches to both general American and Asian American history in particular ways.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The teachers' positions in educational institutions where Asian American experiences and histories are largely hidden were essential to their enactment of Asian American history curriculum. Krishnan, Elyse, and Virginia were intimately familiar with

the distinct ways in which Asian Americans are racialized in U.S. society (Museus, 2014) and participated in this study to combat the absence of Asian American histories in K-12 education, reflecting the tenets of Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit). This study examined their enactment of Asian American history through the theoretical lens of AsianCrit in order to acknowledge the significant roles of voice, experience, and (counter)narrative in the teachers' instructional decision-making and practices.

Two tenets of AsianCrit were especially prominent in terms of the teachers' curricular enactment: *Asianization* and *(re)constructive history*. *Asianization* refers to the particular ways in which Asian Americans are racialized in the U.S. and often lumped into a monolithic group (Museus, 2014), such as the discursive productions of Asian Americans as foreigners and a model minority (Chang, 1999). *(Re)Constructive history* seeks to recognize and transcend the racial exclusion of Asian Americans from the historical narrative by including the voices and experiences of Asian Americans in both past and present narratives of the United States (Museus, 2014).

This chapter is framed around the research question, How do Asian American elementary teachers enact Asian American history? The data revealed two themes: first, the teachers subscribed to particular stances - national identification and analytic - regarding the purpose and practice of history/social studies instruction. Second, as the teachers (re)constructed Asian American historical narratives about Japanese American incarceration, they confronted the dominant narrative, drew on historical empathy to recognize multiple perspectives, and connected to contemporary issues and broader themes of injustice, despite struggles with Asian American historical content knowledge.

Through their varied enactment of Asian American history, three findings emerged: the teachers revealed histories typically made invisible, confronted the complexity of race, and examined the enduring nature of racism in America.

THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE: PURPOSE & PRACTICE

The curriculum-in-use enacted in any classroom is a joint venture between the teacher, students, and the instructional resources at hand. As teaching is undoubtedly a political act (Apple, 2004), educators approach social studies curriculum in various ways. For the Asian American elementary educators in this study, their ethnoracial identities and histories informed the ways they viewed American history as well as their approaches to its teaching. For example, scholar Robert Chang, who initially furthered the application of AsianCrit in legal studies (1993), maintains that racial minorities know that the metaphor of the U.S. as a melting pot is "a fundamental contradiction at the heart of American exceptionalism... as the welcome mat is removed and racial minorities are denied full and equal membership in the family that is America" (Chang, 1999, p. 102). Thus it is important to examine how these three teachers viewed the purpose of history education in general, and the inclusion of Asian American narratives in particular.

In the pursuit of teaching history for the common good, Barton and Levstik (2009) identify four common stances that describe the combination of purpose and practice of history education, two of which dominated the data in this study of Asian American teachers. First, the identification stance may manifest through the imagined community of nation (Anderson, 1983/1991) and stories of the nation's origin and development. Second, the analytic stance, drawn from Bloom's (1956) taxonomy,

involves identifying connections, relationships, and structures across individual events or pieces of historical evidence. This stance may result in the teaching of history "to understand how present-day society came to be" (Barton & Levstik, 2009, p. 70), to learn lessons from the past, or to understand and analyze how historical accounts are created. In their own educations, Elyse, Krishnan, and Virginia recalled learning history through the identification stance; in their interviews and observed classroom practice, however, they most embodied the analytic stance at various points during the spring 2016 semester. Their lack of national identification in K-12 schooling seemed to pivot them toward analytic stances which drew from their own experiences and confronted the complex ethnoracial diversity of their classrooms and the contemporary United States.

National Identification in Their Own Schooling

The teachers' enactment of Asian American history was influenced by their own experiences and understandings of history as well as their objectives for student learning and discussion (Barton & Levstik, 2009). One of the determinants for participant selection was an expressed eagerness to teach Asian American histories in the elementary classroom; although the participants had varying knowledge of their own family histories and the histories of their ancestral homelands, each teacher was educated in the United States and recalled scant attention to Asian Americans in their own K-12 schooling. The lack of personal relevance and general disconnect from American history content were deeply felt by Elyse and Virginia, who both conveyed a desire to teach social studies differently to their own students.

Elyse began her education in the U.S. in first grade after immigrating from her birthplace of Germany, and the connection between the content of her social studies coursework and its relevance to her family and life experiences was unclear. She explained, "Coming from another country, you're like, 'Why am I learning about this?' I don't know, I just didn't connect with it" (interview, 1/15/16). Similarly, Virginia, born and raised in a Texas suburb in a tight-knit Chinese American community, recalled, "I really didn't like history growing up. Maybe because I didn't feel like it was something that I could connect to, that was relevant to me. It was mostly white males" (interview, 3/18/16). Despite being a native-born American, Virginia also felt detached from a subject area that seemed foreign to her and her family's experiences, particularly as a woman of color. These memories of disconnect and disinterest positioned the teachers outside the Eurocentric, male-dominated narrative of American history presented in school, a peripheral Othering common in the Asian American experience (Ancheta, 1998; Chang, 1999; Young, 2004). Barton and Levstik (2009) and Epstein (2010) identify such feelings as one of the problems of teaching history from a national identity stance: sheer exposure to stories of nation does not guarantee personal connection. The absence of Asian American narratives, historical figures, and events in Elyse and Virginia's schooling left them without reflections of self and family in the curriculum and resulted in their disengagement with history.

Thus when they became educators, Elyse and Virginia were critically conscious that "the vision of identity offered in schools is, for many students, exclusionary and unappealing" (Barton & Levstik, 2009, p. 61) and sought to teach their students in ways

that diverged from their own educational experiences centered on dominant narratives. Virginia, who taught at a school that was 90% Latina/o and 8% Black, rationalized,

> It was important to not teach this white male perspective. Most of my (school)children are not white males, so I'm not going to teach them this whitewashed American history. In my mind, I feel like there are a lot of things I didn't learn or that I didn't know, and so now I'm learning about it. Whereas my kids have the potential to learn about it now, and then by the time they get to middle school, high school, they're going to have so much more knowledge about issues. (interview, 3/18/16)

In contrast to her own schooling, Virginia wanted her students of color to learn historical renditions in which they saw themselves and people like them. Rather than regurgitate the litany of landed white men she learned about in school, Virginia carefully selected texts with female, Black, and Brown protagonists and dedicated several weeks to instructional units about the long Civil Rights Movement (Hall, 2005) and school segregation. Elyse, too, chose historical narrative texts featuring famous individuals of color, such as Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, César Chavez, and Rosa Parks. These instructional choices disrupted traditional national identification through a singular, mostly white male history and presented students with a more diverse historical cast of characters. As Chang (1999) reminds us, "Exclusion has many faces" (p. 76); Virginia and Elyse's efforts to represent an array of individuals outside of the dominant narrative of American history were an important step in combatting the invisibility of the non-white Other.

In contrast to Elyse and Virginia, Krishnan reported liking Eurocentric history in school. In college, however, he started to develop "an awareness of the narrow-mindedness of how social studies and American history was taught" (Interview B, 1/31/16) as he was exposed to postcolonial and subaltern histories. Born in Kenya to

Indian parents who grew up during Partition, Krishnan's family history was deeply embedded in British colonialism (see Gregory, 1971; Mangat, 1969) but until college, those (hi)stories were only shared informally by his family and Indian community and lacked the sense of validation that accompanies the official narratives taught in school (Epstein, 2010; Wertsch, 2000). He reflected, "We didn't have alternative ideologies presented to us until I got to college. It can start a lot earlier" (interview, 6/10/16). Like Elyse and Virginia, Krishnan recognized not only the importance of counterstories (Delgado, 1989) but also the transformative power of learning more complex perspectives of history earlier in life.

In sum, these three Asian American educators mastered but resisted exclusionary mainstream historical narratives and recognized the potential for children to learn about multiple perspectives at an early age. Further, they recognized that Asian American histories *could* and *should* be taught to elementary students. Consequently, the goal of troubling narrow conceptions of what it means to be American was an important influence on their curricular enactment, particularly in their selection of children's literature, primary sources, and the narrative voices they privileged.

Teaching History to Learn Lessons from the Past

While the teachers rejected the national identification approach used in their K-12 schooling, they had a shared rationale for studying history: learning lessons from the past, which Barton and Levstik (2009) refer to as an analytic stance of teaching history. In an interview, Elyse explained, "As citizens, we should look back on history and be able to look at it and learn from it, and look at the positive and negative effects. We can't really

move forward without understanding the past and why people chose to do things and how that has affected our society, or other societies, too" (interview, 6/10/16). Similarly, Krishnan stated, 'The history of our recent past - and not even that, for the past 500 to 600 years - directly influences what our values are in society" (interview, 6/10/16). Philosopher George Santayana (1906) famously stated, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it" (p. 284), a sentiment also echoed on multiple occasions by Virginia in both interviews and classroom observations.

The "Santayanan purpose" (VanSledright, 1997) of social studies expressed by the three teachers are common public expectations for history and in elementary schools in particular (Barton & Levstik, 2009), but are heavily critiqued by some historians. Scholars like Peter Geyl (1955) argue that "history is not to be searched for practical lessons" because the applicability of such lessons "will always be doubtful in view of the inexhaustible novelty of circumstances and combination of causes" (p. 84). There are too many possible lessons to be learned, all of them ambiguous, such that knowing when to apply particular lessons to contemporary situations would be unclear - essentially, no two situations in human history are ever identical or even close (Barton & Levstik, 2009). Moreover, as Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert (2000) note, "all formations of memory carry implicit and/or explicit assumptions about what is to be remembered, how, by whom, for whom, and with what potential effects" (p. 2).

However, the teachers in this study did not receive formal training in history nor did they take extensive coursework in the social studies that might have indicated these issues with the Santayanan purpose of teaching history - Krishnan majored in architecture

while Virginia and Elyse's undergraduate degrees were in elementary education and sociology, respectively (see Table 4). Virginia's traditional teacher education program, Krishnan's alternative teacher certification program, and Elyse's post-baccalaureate program provided only one course on social studies methods, not historical content. Their basic social studies/history content knowledge and minimal understanding of historical interpretation are typical of most elementary educators (Russell, 2009; Stanley & Longwell, 2004) who, unlike their secondary counterparts, most often complete teacher education programs which do not heavily emphasize social studies and do not have discipline-specific majors (Bolick, Adams & Willox, 2010).

In spite of historians' critiques of such analytic approaches to teaching history, Gounari (2008) argues that when history is taught for the purposes of knowing and creating spaces rather than simply commemorating events of a disconnected past [akin to Kammen's (1997) notion of heritage, rather than history, learning], it opens the possibilities for transformative learning and discourse. Although the analytic stance of learning lessons from the past has its disciplinary shortcomings, there is transformative potential that lies in the teachers' interest in learning and teaching about groups and historical moments typically overlooked, and asking students how those lessons can inform the ways they understand their sociocultural present and the role of agency. For Asian Americans who have long been obscured, blamed and forgotten in history (Chang, 1999), such work can "reconstruct the pedagogical role of history, moving beyond the limits of the discipline and creating a discourse that underlines the importance of keeping

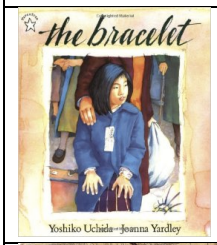
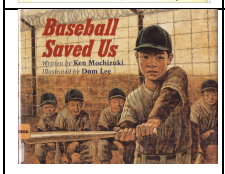
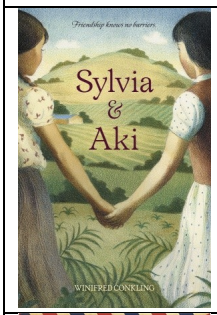
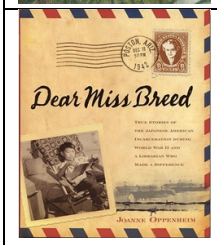
dangerous historical memories alive as a requirement for a substantive democracy" (Gounari, 2008, p. 112).

In order for such transformative enactment to occur, educators must be prepared to reveal histories that may be wholly unknown to students, that they themselves may have never learned about in formal school settings. The notion of enacting traditionally omitted historical narratives in order to learn lessons from the past was particularly salient as all three Asian American teachers (re)constructed transformative narratives about the domestic incarceration of Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II, a topic rarely discussed in elementary schools.

(RE)CONSTRUCTING THE ASIAN AMERICAN NARRATIVE

Takaki (1998) called for a re-vision of U.S. history that includes Asians in broad and comparative ways through their own voices. The AsianCrit tenet of *(re)constructive history* emphasizes re-analyzing history to expose racism toward Asian Americans alongside the acknowledgment that Asian Americans have been racially excluded from American history. Moreover, *(re)constructive history* goes beyond mere re-examination through the construction of historical narratives that include the voices and contributions of Asian Americans in the United States and informs understanding of Asian Americans in the present (Museus, 2014). The teachers' recognition of and indignation at the invisibility of Asian Americans in historical narratives was essential to their participation in this study, as was their determination to transcend this historical silencing by creating and implementing multiple lessons dedicated to the teaching of Asian American history.

Table 8: Children's Literature about Japanese American Incarceration during World War II Used by Participants

Book Cover	Title, Author (Year of Publication)	Description	Participant & Date(s) of Lesson
	*The Bracelet,* Yoshiko Uchida (1996)	Emi's family is forced to move to an internment camp and a friend gives her a bracelet to remember her by. Emi loses the bracelet but learns that she can carry the memory of her friend in her heart.	Elyse, 2/24/16 Virginia, 2/23-2/24/16
	*Baseball Saved Us,* Dom Mochizuki (1993)	Shorty's family leaves their home for an internment camp. The internees work together to create a baseball diamond and Shorty channels his anger and frustration from internment to baseball.	Elyse, 3/7-3/8/16
	*Sylvia & Aki*, Winifred Conkling (2011)	Based on real events, Aki's family is forced to leave their California asparagus farm to be interned in Poston, Arizona while Sylvia's family rents the farm from Aki's family. The girls correspond and become friends.	Virginia, 5/2-5/6/16, 5/11/16, 5/17-19/16, 5/24-5/26/16
	*Dear Miss Breed*, Joanne Oppenheim (2006)	Clara Breed was a librarian in California during World War II who corresponded with the Japanese American children who frequented her library after they were forced to relocate to camps. This nonfiction book includes their letters to her.	Krishnan, 5/25/16

The topic of Japanese American incarceration during WWII was taught in all three classrooms for multiple days and will serve as the focus of the remainder of this chapter. Based on interviews and observations of the Asian American elementary teachers' (re)construction of this major moment in American history, four subthemes emerged. First, the teachers struggled in (re)constructing narratives about Japanese

American incarceration due to a lack of historical content knowledge. Second, the teachers confronted the dominant narrative of incarceration, which viewed Executive Order 9066 (EO 9066) as a justifiable wartime act, in different ways. Third, as they sought to support student recognition of perspective, they varied in their approach to historical empathy. Fourth, the teachers connected Japanese American incarceration to contemporary events and enduring issues. The examples that follow draw from observations of and interviews about lessons on Japanese American incarceration; Table 8 describes the children's literature used by the teachers in these units.

Struggles with Asian American Historical Content Knowledge

Asian Americans are inarguably the most invisible ethnoracial group in U.S. history curriculum (An, 2016; Harada, 2000; Hartlep & Scott, 2016; Wolf, 1992). Although the incarceration of Japanese Americans is one of two moments in American history when Asian Americans make a rare appearance in textbooks and social studies standards (Noboa, 2012), even at the secondary level the topic of Japanese American incarceration may be considered a difficult history to teach and therefore avoided. For instance, Camicia (2008) conducted interviews with community members in the Northwest town of Telford[15] (pseudonym) that utilized an integrated social studies and language arts curriculum to teach about Japanese American incarceration. Although a Congressional report (U.S. CWRIC, 1997) and every U.S. president since Gerald Ford has recognized that this incarceration was a grave mistake, some Telford community

[15] Camicia's (2008) study is fascinating given that 227 Japanese Americans from Telford were the first U.S. community to be removed from their homes during WWII as a result of Executive Order 9066. The Telford newspaper was one of the only newspapers to speak out against Japanese American incarceration and the community built a $10 million federal park to memorialize the injustice of incarceration.

members nonetheless argued that incarceration was a military necessity and considered the curriculum to be indoctrinating students to "hate America" (Camicia, 2008, p. 310). Given the continued disagreement (and as Camicia found, denial) about the historical justification of Japanese American incarceration with secondary students, it is unsurprising that this content is rarely addressed in elementary schools.

Of the three teachers participating in this study, Virginia was the only educator with prior experience teaching Japanese American incarceration during World War II, predominantly with the children's novel *Sylvia and Aki* and "not to the same extent" as she did in the spring of 2016 (interview, 6/15/16). Therefore it is essential to preface further exploration of the teachers' (re)construction of Asian American historical narratives by reiterating that these veteran teachers were enacting Asian American social studies lessons for the first time based on content that was recently presented/learned and with which they had no prior training aside from the CCISD PD in February 2016.

On multiple occasions, Elyse expressed doubts in knowing and teaching U.S. history, a subject she had rarely taught in her nine years as an educator. "I don't think I'm very strong in teaching history," she admitted prior to her first lesson on Asian American history (interview, 1/15/16). Reflecting on the CCISD PD at the end of the semester, she remarked, "I would have loved another hour or two just to know the (Asian American) history" (interview, 6/10/16). Her lack of historical content mastery (Wertsch, 2000) was revealed when she introduced Japanese American incarceration as occurring *after* WWII, and consequently her first Asian American history lesson did not address any wartime context nor the rationale for incarceration - not even the bombing of Pearl Harbor

(classroom observation, 2/24/16). As she read aloud books about Japanese American incarceration, questions regarding student understanding of historical content were minimal, resulting in a rapid teacher-centered reading of the text (classroom observations, 2/24/16, 3/7/16). While Elyse did not explicitly state that her lack of content knowledge was an issue during the Asian American history lessons in particular, the hurried approach observed in her read alouds was likely due to a lack of historical background.

Although Elyse was the only teacher that openly admitted to struggling with the teaching of social studies in general, all three teachers overlooked several critical aspects of incarceration due to a lack of Asian American historical content knowledge. First, educational resources about Japanese American incarceration often fail to mention that only 1% of the Japanese population in Hawai'i - home of Pearl Harbor, and often the starting point for historical narratives about WWII with young children - was incarcerated; furthermore, Japanese and Japanese Americans living in the Midwest and on the East Coast were not subjected to relocation and incarceration (Yang Murray, 2000). Second, mainstream resources also neglect the fact that German and Italian Americans, while descended from Axis countries with which the U.S. was also at war, were not incarcerated at remotely the same scale as Japanese and Japanese Americans. The broad language of EO 9066 allowed for exclusion of any person from any area, but was overwhelmingly used to remove and incarcerate *only* Japanese Americans. Importantly, if the true goal of EO 9066 was to protect the West Coast against sabotage and espionage, there would have been no rationale for the imprisonment of "babies, orphans, adopted children, the infirm and bedridden elderly" (JACL, 2011, p. 10). Third,

and perhaps most controversial for teachers to address, the very act of removal and subsequent incarceration mandated by EO 9066 was unconstitutional. Two-thirds of the 120,000 Japanese Americans uprooted from their homes and communities without due process were U.S. citizens. Fourth, official narratives also fail to acknowledge the Munson report, submitted to the President and the Secretary of State a month before the bombing of Pearl Harbor in November 1941, which certified the extraordinary degree of loyalty Japanese Americans held to the United States, a finding corroborated by years of secret FBI surveillance (JACL, 2011).

These four points are heavily cited in historical studies of Japanese American incarceration (Daniels, 1971, 2004; Irons, 1989) and especially among Asian American scholars (Inada, 2000; Lee, 2014; Okihiro, 1997; Wu, 2003) for several reasons. First, they weaken the dominant narrative of justified Japanese American incarceration; if Japanese Americans were truly a legitimate threat to the nation (which the Munson report disproved), incarceration should have been widespread rather than relegated to the West Coast. Second, they demonstrate that Japanese American incarceration was not simply an exceptional response to the bombing of Pearl Harbor but rather "part of a pattern of systematic government discrimination against racial groups in America" (Yang Murray, 2000, p. 20-21) and against Asian Americans in particular. As Lee (2014) explains, "Racism was not just a common thematic experience among Asians in America; the movements against Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, and Filipino immigration that spanned over half a century were connected and successively built on one another" (p. 121). Third, the politics of Japanese American incarceration "reveal the intimate and

often contradictory relations between racism and economics" (Palumbo-Liu, 1999, p. 224). For example, many whites benefitted enormously from the economic losses of Japanese Americans, including farm owners who were forced to leave just before the 1942 harvest and sold their equipment and property at tremendously low prices (Lee, 2015). This broader racialized context of the Asian American experience is integral in understanding how Japanese American incarceration arose, but is largely overlooked in the dominant historical narratives told in schools.

Thus in the absence of this knowledge, Japanese American incarceration is readily seen as justified or reasonable. These complicated truths were unknown to the teachers when they taught their lessons in the spring of 2016. "Mastery" of general U.S. historical content knowledge is a common challenge faced by elementary educators (Russell, 2009), thus the teaching of difficult or silenced histories of Asian Americans requires particular expertise. Undoubtedly, with more critical Asian American historical content knowledge, the three teachers would have been better prepared to trouble and disrupt dominant narratives of Japanese American incarceration more effectively. Yet in spite of the challenges that resulted from their lack of historical content knowledge, the teachers nonetheless enacted historical narratives about Japanese Americans during WWII in order to (re)construct Asian American history with their students.

Confronting the Dominant Narrative of Japanese American Incarceration

The official narrative of U.S. history describes EO 9066 as a necessary national security response to the bombing of Pearl Harbor. This order resulted in the expulsion of 120,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast between 1942-1946 to sixteen

assembly centers (temporary detention camps) and later to ten relocation centers ("internment" camps). The more critical interpretations of incarceration described previously are conspicuously absent from the dominant narrative, as they directly contradict the premise that EO 9066 was a judicious rejoinder to a legitimate military threat posed by enemy aliens. On the rare occasions when textbooks do contain official narratives of the domestic aspects of World War II, they tend to emphasize Japanese American compliance with EO 9066 or may highlight the military accomplishments of the all-Japanese 100th Battalion, 442nd Regimental Combat Unit, and Military Intelligence Service in the Pacific Theater as examples of Japanese American patriotism and military participation rather than include acts of resistance (An, 2016).

As the teachers in this study planned and executed their lessons on Asian American history, they each confronted the dominant narrative of Japanese American incarceration differently. Krishnan and Virginia were particularly interested in fostering conversations that complicated and resisted the official history of Japanese American incarceration. Wertsch (2000) argues that appropriation ensues when historical narratives are made one's own, requiring an emotional dimension that may be independent of cognitive mastery. Resistance, however, occurs when one is exposed to the narrative as a sociocultural tool or text and chooses to distance oneself from it – often through knowledge of alternative, unofficial narratives.

For instance, Krishnan first disrupted the official narrative of Japanese American incarceration during WWII by recognizing the presence and contributions of Japanese Americans prior to WWII. Unlike Virginia and Elyse, who began their lessons with

WWII, Krishnan's three-day unit started with early Japanese immigration to America. His teacher-created slideshow opened with a map demonstrating migration routes from Japan to the United States and continued with slides of Japanese farmworkers as he described how Japanese immigrants established communities, cultivated land using innovative techniques from their homeland, and were instrumental in the development of West Coast agriculture in the early 1900s (classroom observation, 5/23/16). Krishnan emphasized transnational migration to provide context for the presence of Japanese Americans in the U.S. However, his discussion of Japanese Americans prior to WWII did not include the growing anti-Japanese sentiment that was fomenting in the Western U.S. and served as an underlying economic motive for their eventual incarceration. While a conversation about anti-Japanese sentiment would likely have made their eventual incarceration more suspect in the eyes of his fifth graders, Krishnan's approach nonetheless established Japanese Americans as immigrants who, like many other groups before and after them, contributed to American society in multiple ways.

Krishnan addressed the complexity of Japanese American incarceration during World War II as he pushed his students, many of whom were quite knowledgeable about World War II but were unfamiliar with incarceration, to consider why this content was often absent from history books. "Because they don't want to show the U.S. as the bad guys!" Kevin exclaimed (classroom observation, 5/23/16). When asked afterward what he wanted students to take away from these lessons, Krishnan responded that he wanted to pique student interest and critically question them on big issues, such as, "What does it mean to be an American? What does it mean that a lot of people have this unfallible idea

of America but there's these parts of history that are not really talked about?" (interview, 6/10/16). Through this deeper interrogation of the official, textbook narrative of Japanese American incarceration, Krishnan was able to trouble his students' view of the U.S. as a country that always protects its citizens and makes the "right" decisions in times of war.

Virginia also pushed back against depictions of Japanese and Japanese Americans as suspicious "enemy Others". As she read *The Bracelet* (see Table 8) with her second graders, Virginia emphasized that the book's main character was Japanese *American*, born in the United States, not in Japan, but viewed as the enemy and sent away to a camp regardless. A few pages into *The Bracelet*, a student named Symphony uttered a thought aloud as Virginia read to the class. Virginia asked Symphony to repeat what she said.

Symphony: The government made them go to the camp... Maybe because they were bad, I think?
Virginia: So the government made them go to the camp because they were...
Symphony: Japanese...
Virginia: Was there something else?
Symphony: And they look like the enemy!

With support from Virginia, Symphony identified the role of ethnicity and phenotype in wartime perceptions of citizen versus enemy, building on her emerging understanding of the main character's Japanese American identity.

Minutes later, Symphony's peer Marcus suggested that the family was taken to the camp "because they look different from other people" (classroom observation, 2/23/16). "What do you mean by they looked different from other people?" Virginia probed. "Because they're from another place?" Marcus volunteered. Virginia asked the class where the main character Emi and her family were from. Students shouted, "Japan!", so Virginia reread a line from the text: "The government was sending them to a prison camp

because they were Japanese American and America was at war with Japan" (Uchida, 1996, p. 1). A chorus of students changed their answers to "America!" "Does it say anything there about them being from another place?" Virginia reiterated. "No! America," her students repeated (classroom observation, 2/23/16). Similar conversations arose as the class continued reading and grappled with how to define an American.

The Bracelet provided multiple opportunities for Virginia to guide her students in complicating the official narrative of Japanese American incarceration. For example, in the middle of the text, the main character's family reports to the center where they will be loaded onto buses destined for a temporary camp at Tanforan. A vivid illustration accompanies the text, "When they go to the center, Emi saw hundreds of Japanese-Americans everywhere. Grandmas and grandpas and mothers and fathers and children and babies" (Uchida, 1996, p. 11). As Virginia read these words, a student interjected, "But the babies have to go?" A new flurry of conversation erupted as students exclaimed, "Even the grandma and grandpa!" "They're taking them to camp!" "They don't even know what they're doing!" (classroom observation, 2/23/16). Virginia's students recognized that many of the individuals sent to camps were both American *and* innocent, disrupting the traditional narrative that anyone of Japanese descent posed a threat to national security.

These examples from Virginia and Krishnan's classrooms illustrate how the two teachers confronted the dominant rationale of justified Japanese American removal and incarceration. Their class discussions fostered conversations and historical understandings about the contributions and citizenship of Japanese Americans as well as how injustice is overlooked and even omitted entirely from historical narratives.

Although the teachers did not possess in-depth knowledge of Japanese American history, they and their students nonetheless confronted, complicated, and resisted master narratives of Japanese Americans as enemy Others whose sheer presence put the nation at risk during wartime.

Evoking Historical Empathy to Recognize Multiple Perspectives

Barton and Levstik (2009) describe historical empathy as eliciting a combination of perspective-taking and caring. In order to "engage in meaningful deliberation with those whose ideas differ from our own, we must do more than understand them--we must care about them and about their perspectives" (p. 207). Thus historical empathy requires contextualization of actions and the use of historical evidence. When counternarratives reveal agency, resistance, and racism, historical empathy can result in more visceral responses to the struggles of oppression (Salinas, Fránquiz, & Naseem Rodríguez, 2016). In their lessons on Japanese American incarceration, the teachers used a combination of children's literature and primary sources to evoke historical empathy with their students.

As Krishnan transitioned from a tracing of early Japanese immigration to World War II, he showed his students a photograph of the bombing of Pearl Harbor juxtaposed with the front page of the New York World Telegram from December 8, 1941, with the headline "1500 Dead in Hawaii, Congress votes war." He then posed the following scenario to his fifth graders to engage them in perspective-taking:

> So if you're a Japanese American boy or girl in 1941, a month after Pearl Harbor was bombed, and your country is at war with the country of your *ancestry*. But you've never been to Japan, you've heard stories from your grandparents about it. You know some words in Japanese but you don't really speak it anymore. What would be the things going through your mind?

"It would be like, who should I go for? Because you're born in the United States and you grew up there," Kimberlyn volunteered. "I would be confused," Amanda agreed. "I would say I have nothing to do with (the war)." Another student, Janel, described feeling torn in different directions between two different identities (classroom observation, 5/23/16). Krishnan used the combination of primary sources and a perspective-taking scenario to contextualize the experiences of Japanese American youth after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. By digging into "the culturally and historically situated assumptions that guided their thought and action" (Barton & Levstik, 2009, p. 208), Krishnan's students began to empathize with the discrimination and racism faced by Japanese American children and considered how ancestry did not necessarily determine common language or beliefs.

Similarly, Virginia conducted perspective-taking with her second graders through multiple approaches. She also used excerpts from *Dear Miss Breed* (short quotes rather than the lengthy letters used by Krishnan), and read aloud *The Bracelet* and *Sylvia and Aki* (see Table 8). The two latter books are narrated by Japanese American girls forced to leave their elementary schools and moved to camps in the desert.

> We talked about discrimination and segregation in a lot of different contexts[16]. I feel like (Japanese American incarceration) was a really good example of how discrimination went horribly wrong... the government went to the extreme to discriminate against this group of people. I think Aida (a student) talked a lot about, 'I'm Mexican American and that hurts my feelings.' Those were things she could understand, and I think that also helped her to have sympathy and understanding for Aki (the Japanese American protagonist in *Sylvia and Aki*). (Interview C, 6/15/16)

[16] Prior to reading *The Bracelet*, Virginia's class did a month-long unit on African American segregation that also included many pieces of children's literature narrated by young protagonists. Between *The Bracelet* and *Sylvia and Aki*, Virginia's student teacher conducted an education unit that examined the rights of children related to schooling across the world and included texts told from the points of view of youth.

Virginia was purposeful in her selection of children's literature that represented the voices of youth, and by engaging her students in conversations about various characters she fostered historical empathy as students made personal connections to their own experiences.

In addition to these youth narratives, Virginia shared a YouTube clip from the documentary *Of Civil Rights and Wrongs: The Fred Korematsu Story* (2000). "We're going to be listening to his story because he actually did something different (from Aki)," Virginia explained. Her introduction continued (classroom observation, 5/5/16):

> So during this time, they were - he, his family, his friends were taken away but he didn't want to go. He didn't feel like he needed to go, so we're going to see what happened to him because he didn't go to the camps. Remember how Aki and her family had to report to the control center or whatever and her dad got taken away first? So this is what happened to someone who did not go right away.

Virginia shared Korematsu's story with her students to demonstrate Japanese American agency and resistance against EO 9066 - unlike the pre-adolescent characters and historical figures featured in *The Bracelet, Sylvia & Aki,* and *Dear Miss Breed*, Fred Korematsu was a young man at the time EO 9066 was executed. In the spring of 1942, the American Civil Liberties Union approached him to test the constitutionality of EO 9066 and took his case to federal district court. In September 1942, the court convicted Korematsu and he was jailed and eventually forcibly moved to a camp (Lee, 2015).

Several parts of the video were narrated by Korematsu himself as an elderly man, and one quote was particularly powerful to Virginia's students. "He thought that jail was better than (the camp)!" one student exclaimed, paraphrasing Korematsu while other

children murmured in agreement (classroom observation, 5/5/16). This comparison between the conditions of camp described in children's literature, primary sources, and the Korematsu documentary and students' perceived understandings of jail stunned Virginia's students. Several other students recalled this comment in subsequent lessons, and their multiple references to Korematsu for the remainder of the school year demonstrated how much his story resonated with them. As second graders, they appreciated Korematsu's refusal to comply with EO 9066 and were struck by the dire consequences of his actions. With the Korematsu narrative's emphasis on morals and their consequences, Virginia's students were able to recognize what Barton and Levstik (2009) refer to as "shared normalcy" in their development of historical empathy.

Virginia's distinct use of youth perspectives through multiple modalities (video, children's literature, firsthand accounts) encouraged more robust historical empathy across her class as her students compared Japanese American narratives to their own experiences, across multiple historical narratives, and considered the complexities of morality. Her student Aida reflected on her Mexican American identity to empathize with the discrimination faced by Japanese American characters. During Virginia's reading of *The Bracelet*, some students suggested that Japanese American should try to escape the camps. However, resistance to removal and relocation was not addressed in *The Bracelet* or *Sylvia and Aki*. Fred Korematsu's story, in contrast, provided students with additional historical context for the consequences of escaping or evading the camps. As her second graders learned about the different ways Japanese American youth dealt with unjust treatment, their empathy and understanding grew.

According to Barton and Levstik (2009), historical empathy must include historical contextualization and differentiation of perspectives. In contrast to Virginia and Krishnan's uses of historical empathy, Elyse's questions and comments during a read aloud of *The Bracelet* concentrated on social-emotional connections between Emi, the seven-year-old protagonist, and her third grade students. Elyse's emphasis on emotional connections missed the opportunity to develop empathy for Emi and other Japanese American characters and instead centered on individual feelings, veering away from the book's historical context and the possibility for students to engage with the historical narrative. For instance, when Emi slammed a door in frustration, Elyse asked her students, "She went from feeling one way to a different way. How is she feeling now?" Students responded that Emi was "mad" and "sad," and one child added that he once slammed a door and broken the doorknob and the doorframe." So sometimes when we have strong feelings - and it's okay to have strong feelings," Elyse explained, "But when you are feeling very sad or very angry, one thing that won't hurt anyone is you can go scream into a pillow" (classroom observation, 2/24/16). She then resumed reading *The Bracelet*. Rather than redirect student attention to why Emi felt frustrated leaving her home and friends to emphasize the injustice of removal and relocation, Elyse shifted the discussion to self-control and emotions, discarding the historical context of the book.

By focusing only on the emotions felt by Emi and not on the displacement and injustice that led to them within a historical context, Elyse's students failed to use perspective and thereby were not empathic, but sympathetic. The *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (cited in Barton & Levstik, 2009) distinguishes

between these two concepts by situating empathy as the imagining of the thoughts and feelings of others from their own perspectives, while sympathy involves imagining the thoughts and feelings of others as if they were our own. Sympathy suggests that a single frame of reference -one's own- is an acceptable standard with which to measure the world, regardless of differences across time, cultural boundaries, and individual preferences (Barton & Levstik, 2009). As Elyse's approach focused on sympathetic understanding based on emotions rather than historical empathy, she missed opportunities to attend to perspective as she read about Japanese American incarceration. Cai (2003) warns that reading books about people of color "should not end with narcissistic self-reflection but should eventually lead to a change of perspective on the Other" (p. 281). Unfortunately, for the remainder of Elyse's lesson with *The Bracelet,* her students expressed little empathy or distress as Emi's family was sent to live in a horse stable. The direction taken during this lesson's discussion demonstrates how the influence of certain pedagogical choices can divert from instructional goals, as Elyse did not realize the shortcomings of favoring sympathy over historical empathy.

Connecting to Contemporary Events & Enduring Themes of Discrimination

Wu (2002) cites the incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII as "the obvious precedent for the treatment of Arab Americans and Muslim Americans in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks" (p. 52). During the spring 2016 semester during which data was collected, media coverage frequently spotlighted anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric by eventual Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump. The teachers reported hearing their students informally discuss Trump in

class and used their lessons on Japanese incarceration to connect student understanding to broader issues of discrimination and contemporary American Islamophobia in particular.

For instance, Krishnan shared a video of Muslim kids reading letters sent to librarian Clara Breed from Japanese American youth imprisoned in camps in the 1940s (Chi, 2016). Near its conclusion, an elderly Japanese American woman read from a letter written when she was a girl, her voice breaking: "But I'm sure when this war is over, there will be no racial discrimination and no one will have to doubt for a minute the great principles of democracy" (Ogawa quoted in Chi, 2016). After the video ended, a student named Amanda observed, "That's really sad!" Another student, Esther, added, "You could even hear in her voice that she was crying!" Krishnan asked his students, "Why are they putting these groups of people to interact?" "Because some people think Muslims are horrible, that they're terrorists," Esther explained. By comparing the treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II and the contemporary treatment of Muslims and those perceived-as-Muslims, Krishnan's fifth graders recognized the continued need in American society for people to "respect each other" and even acknowledged that "some of us are racist to Muslims" due to stereotypes and misunderstandings (student comments, classroom observation, 5/25/16).

Krishnan's students' recognition that the U.S. remains an imperfect pluralist democracy whose citizens are capable of treating each other better demonstrates initial steps toward transformational understanding and social justice. Weeks later, Krishnan reflected, “these kids are ready for it… we need to teach about great inequalities that have existed and continue to exist and try to dismantle them, think critically about why they’ve

happened, and think about how we as individual human beings can be agents of change" (Interview C, 6/10/16). Thus creating connections between the past and present to foster critical consciousness among his students became central to his teaching of Asian American history and was reflective of his previously described analytical stance on teaching history to learn lessons from the past.

Elyse described a student-initiated comparison between the domestic events of WWII and contemporary treatment of Muslims in her classroom. In an interview, she recounted a unobserved moment in class when her student Todd made an immediate connection to *Heroes* (a book about Japanese Americans after WWII) and announced, "We shouldn't be treating Muslims this way!" Elyse explained, "Some of them are just in shock that, you know, it's more than just Black people that were treated that way" (interview, 3/16/16). Her comment highlighted the narrow scope of both civil rights and the inclusion of people of color in the traditional narrative (Wills, 1996). Through the representation of multiple groups whose voices are typically omitted in American history, her third grade students began to independently recognize acts of discrimination and injustice across time and racial groups without teacher prompting.

For these three teachers, simply teaching Asian American historical narratives was not enough; they created opportunities and supportive spaces for students to understand connections to present day treatment of groups perceived as Others. Much of this purpose, as reflected in the teachers' interviews after teaching these lessons, stemmed from a desire for their students to defend difference in the interest of social justice. As Krishnan explained, "part of perfecting a democracy is acknowledging things that have

been done in the past... if you're not willing to do that, then you're doing a huge disservice to your students because you're only presenting part of the truth" (interview, 6/10/16). Often, as Wills (2001) and others have revealed in their classroom studies of civil rights content, race relations are taught as an issue that was a source of conflict in the past but not the present - as something that has been resolved. By connecting the civil rights violations of Japanese Americans in the 1940s to ongoing discrimination, violence, and hateful rhetoric directed at Muslims and perceived-as-Muslim groups, the teachers and their students explored various unresolved tensions of difference that continue to exist in America today. Gounari (2008) considers such rearticulations of the past "with a view to making the present political" (p. 110) a great teaching challenge that offers possibilities to make the relationship between the past, present, and future more meaningful.

DISCUSSION

This chapter investigated the research question, How do Asian American elementary teachers enact Asian American history? through the lens of AsianCrit, with particular attention to the AsianCrit tenets of *Asianization* and *(re)constructive history.* Themes from the data indicated that the teachers resisted the national identification stance experienced in their own educations, instead subscribing to an analytic stance regarding the purpose and practice of history. As the teachers (re)constructed Asian American historical narratives about Japanese American incarceration, they confronted the dominant narrative, drew on historical empathy to recognize multiple perspectives, and connected to contemporary issues and broader themes of injustice, despite struggles with Asian American historical content knowledge. As the three teachers worked in different

ways to enact Asian American histories in their classrooms, three common findings emerged. First, the teachers offered Asian American narratives and perspectives that were otherwise silenced in the official curriculum of school, making the invisible finally visible. Second, the teachers confronted the complexity of race, going beyond the Black/white binary to interrogate the racialization of Asian Americans. Third, the teachers addressed the enduring aspects of racism by complicating traditional narratives of racial progress.

Making the Invisible Visible by Centering Asian American Narratives

The AsianCrit tenet of *(re)constructive history* recognizes the exclusion of Asian Americans from American history and advocates for transcending this invisibility and silence (Museus, 2014). An (2016) notes that "the invisibility of the Asian American experience in the official script of U.S. history sends a message that Asian Americans are not legitimate members of this nation and have little place in the story of the United States" (p. 268). While the teaching of histories that educators themselves did not learn in school is understandably difficult, it is also undeniably important. Takaki (1998) urges us to "re-vision" history to include Asian American voices, experiences, and histories. Denying these histories, argues Takaki (1998), and instead focusing solely on "Eurocentric history serves no one. It only shrouds the pluralism that is America and that makes our nation so unique, and the the possibility of appreciating our rich racial and cultural diversity remains a dream deferred" (p. 7).

The curricular enactment demonstrated by Asian American teachers in their (re)construction of Asian American history also highlights the role of the AsianCrit tenet

of *Asianization*, the distinct ways in which Asian Americans are essentialized and racialized in U.S. society, such as the perpetual foreigner trope (Museus, 2014). Teachers and students wrestled with what it meant for someone to be Asian *and* American (a notion explored further in Chapter 6), and student understanding was supported by teachers' experiences as first- and second-generation immigrant children in predominantly white school settings. Due to their low representation in the field, Asian American teachers continue to be perceived as foreign Others in the predominantly white spaces of school (Endo, 2015; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Nguyen, 2012) and, like other teachers of color, are often "constructed by a dominant culture that tries to assign specific meanings... in order to account for their presence" (Young, 2004, p. 83). An understanding of the legal and political restrictions that have historically positioned Asian Americans as outside Others is essential to the disruption of the perpetual foreigner trope (Lowe, 1996), and elementary classrooms are ideal spaces to begin these conversations.

Confronting the Complexity of Race

The AsianCrit tenet of *Asianization* draws from CRT understandings that racism is pervasive in American society while also acknowledging that U.S. society racializes Asian Americans in particular ways, often through legal means (Museus, 2014). Gotanda (1995, 2010) notes that Asian Americans were treated as constructive Blacks for most of U.S. history; in the landmark *People v. Hall* (1854) case, Asian Americans were even classified as Black in contradistinction to whites. However, anti-Asian American subordination in American history is qualitatively different from anti-Black subordination

as it is centered on citizenship; this "outsider racialization" is two-fold, positioning Asian Americans as both unassimilable foreigners and immigrants, disregarding their citizenship status (Ancheta, 1998). Chang (1999) maintains that "introducing this element of foreignness complicates the racial positioning of Asian Americans and reveals a suppressed, and usually unquestioned, national dimension in the way race is conceptualized" (p. 12). He continues,

> Including the axis of nation in examining race allows us to understand the treatment of Asian Americans, blacks, Latinas/Latinos, Native Americans, and whites as part of a larger national project. It is the apparatus of the nation-state that has made and continues to make race matter. (p. 12)

By establishing Japanese Americans as citizens who were incarcerated because of their ancestral country of origin, teachers explored the complexity of race in the U.S. beyond the Black/white binary.

Literature about Japanese American incarceration, as well as the results of this study, problematizes America's segregated, hierarchical society and can inspire a more multicultural national perspective (Teorey, 2008). However, young children often need more historical background knowledge to understand larger issues of systemic racism and injustice (Youngs, 2012a). The use of multiple perspectives can help students identify common patterns of civic agency and civic enactment across racial groups, making comparisons between the discrimination faced by Japanese Americans and Mexican Americans and African Americans as well as discussing similarities to contemporary Islamophobia. The elementary teachers' introduction of Asian Americans into conversations about race, justice, discrimination, and citizenship recognized the

Black/white dichotomy as fundamentally incomplete and was a vital step toward understanding both the diversity and continued racial tensions in U.S. society.

Addressing the Enduring Aspects of Racism

Research has demonstrated that young children both recognize and talk about race (Bolgatz, 2005; Doucet & Adair, 2013; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001; Winkler, 2009) even though such conversations are often silenced in classroom spaces (Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman, & Johnson, 2007; Wills, 1996). On the rare occasions when race is taught in schools, cultural difference is often essentialized, cross-racial interaction may be inauthentic, and social and institutional structures are often ignored (Wills, 2001). The dominant narrative of U.S. history tells a story of freedom and progress (VanSledright, 2002), where America is positioned as a country in which rights and opportunities are ever-expanding, social relations are improving, and historic hardships and injustices have been resolved (Barton & Levstik, 2009). Therefore lessons that address racism and discrimination generally have happy, uncomplicated endings that allude to racial harmony in the present; the most common elementary example of this is the typical representation of the civil rights movement, often introduced through segregation and Rosa Parks and culminating with Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, after which schools became integrated and injustice was overcome through nonviolent means (Wills, 2005).

Museus (2014) maintains that (re)constructive history "highlights the ways in which [Asian American] histories not only add to or correct the historical record, but also function to provide critical insights on the present and inform a progressive future for

Asian Americans (and other groups of color)" (p. 25). More complex understandings of race in U.S. history expose the fact that racism and discrimination are enduring issues in our society rather than problems of the past. Through the teaching of Japanese American incarceration, teachers can interrogate issues of justice (i.e., forcing families to leave their homes, friends, and businesses), fairness (i.e., jailing babies and children who posed no security threat), patriotism (i.e., imprisoning American citizens for supposed national security), and discrimination (i.e., being denied civil rights because of one's appearance). As students recognize similarities between the (mis)treatment of Japanese Americans during WWII, African Americans during the Civil Rights Movement, and Muslim Americans today, the idyllic notion of the United States as the land of the free, with liberty and justice for all, is disrupted. However, elementary teachers can push their students to consider how to move forward by learning from the mistakes in our nation's past so that America can someday live up to its ideals.

CONCLUSION

The final paragraph of Asian American historian Takaki's (1998) monograph *Strangers from a Different Shore*, one of the first mainstream collections of Asian American history, begins, "These struggles of Asian Americans have been a continuous rebellion against the exclusive constructions of 'we, the people' and a constant resolve to help make this 'a more perfect union,' an ethnically diverse yet united society" (p. 509). Virginia, Krishnan, and Elyse demonstrated how ethnoracial and immigrant experiences can inform a more pluralistic enactment of history with our youngest students in powerful and transformative ways. By drawing on the AsianCrit tenets of *Asianization* and

(re)constructive history as they (re)constructed Asian American narratives long made invisible in the official curriculum of schools, they revealed both the complexity and enduring aspects of race that continue to challenge our nation. While many scholars call for changes to make curriculum more inclusive, these Asian American elementary teachers exemplified how it can be done.

CHAPTER 5: CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AS COUNTERSTORY: TEACHING ASIAN AMERICAN HISTORY THROUGH PICTURE BOOKS

> Kids that always see themselves in books need to be able to see things in other viewpoints. How can we expect kids to get along with others in this world, to empathize and to share, if they never see outside of themselves?
>
> Grace Lin

INTRODUCTION

Asian Americans have long been nearly invisible in the dominant narrative of U.S. history depicted in school textbooks (Harada, 2000; Hartlep & Scott, 2016; Suh, An, & Forest, 2015; Wolf, 1992; Zuercher, 1969) and in K-12 history curriculum in general (An, 2016). For teachers seeking to transform social studies through the inclusion of Asian American narratives, tradebooks can serve as an important resource. At the elementary level, historical fiction - particularly in the form of picture books which combine print and illustration - offers educators opportunities to present Asian American histories in a format that is engaging and accessible to young children. Picture books are a means by which young children learn about the cultural values and messages of their society and begin to form their identities (Gee, 2001; Heath, 2011). The last fifty years have witnessed a significant shift in the landscape of multicultural children's literature, resulting in more offerings of historical fiction and picture books about Asian Americans than ever before (Loh-Hagen, 2014).

However, slurs, stereotypes, and assumptions have historically been a part of children's literature (Au, Brown & Calderon, 2016; Mo & Shen, 2003), thus picture books may perpetuate dominant ideologies and, if read without critique, can serve as

tools of oppression (Banfield, 1985). Rather than articulating the mainstream oppression of ethnic groups, widespread use of multicultural texts in K-12 classrooms often fosters uncritical examinations that detour from the main curriculum through what Derman-Sparks dubs "tourist-multiculturalism" (1993) and a focus on heroes, food, and festivals (Kohl, 1994; NCSS, 2009). Therefore, as with any educational resource, Asian American children's literature itself is not sufficient to disrupt the dominant narrative of U.S. history; the teacher's critical use of Asian American children's literature ultimately determines whether texts maintain the dominant narrative or serve as counterstories.

The nationwide increase in standardized testing that began as a result of NCLB resulted in a deemphasis, and in some cases complete omission, of social studies in elementary schools where the subject was not tested (Passe, 2006; Russell, 2009; Wills, 2007). To combat the disappearance of social studies from classroom schedules, some teachers integrate social studies with language arts, often through the use of picture books and historical fiction (Bennett & Hinde, 2015). While integration is critiqued for not providing equal emphasis on both content areas (Boyle-Baise et al., 2008; VanFossen, 2005), Balantic, Libresco, and Kipling (2011) maintain that *every* picture book has the potential to teach social studies as long as social studies concepts are centered through instruction and the larger curriculum. Importantly, literary and social studies practices that promote social mediation provide affordances for students to develop a critical lens to explore societal issues and understand diverse perspectives (DeNicolo & Fránquiz, 2006). Young learners often suspect there is more to history than what is in the textbook and that other, "unofficial" histories remain untold in school (Wertsch, 2000). Hence

critical encounters (Appleman, 2000) with multicultural literature that prompt further inquiry, and thereby drive student discussions and learning in new directions, can reveal social (in)justice and multiple perspectives (DeNicolo & Fránquiz, 2006; Gopalakrishnan, 2010; Agarwal-Rangnath, 2013) beyond the dominant narrative.

Cai (2002) argues that multicultural literature, such as Asian American picture books, disrupts the monopoly of mainstream culture by portraying marginalized cultures and challenging texts through questions about who is represented, underrepresented, misrepresented, and/or invisible, as well as questions about how power is exercised. Through these texts, educators can work to re-imagine and transform children's understandings of the past and present. Furthermore, by bringing a critical lens to the study of multicultural children's literature, readers can deconstruct dominant ideologies of U.S. society (Botelho & Rudman, 2009) and use multicultural children's literature as a vehicle for both socialization and change (Bishop, 1992). Consequently, the integration of critical approaches to multicultural children's literature with social studies content offers possibilities for transformative teaching and learning in elementary classrooms.

Racial Representation & Authenticity in Children's Literature

Two principal issues related to the perceived quality of multicultural literature are representation and the authenticity of representation. Larrick's (1965) landmark study of "the all-White world of children's books" revealed the pitifully monoracial state of children's literature despite increasing ethnoracial diversity in the United States. Larrick critiqued this lack of diverse perspectives for failing to represent national demographics and for perpetuating White supremacy in the form of "gentle doses of racism" (p. 63).

Many scholars have revisited Larrick's call for greater ethnoracial representation. Sims Bishop (1982) examined the representation of African Americans in 150 children's books and found that half of the books were marred by ignorance, paternalism, and racism (Cai & Bishop, 1994). Nilsson's (2005) synthesis of studies on Latinx portrayal in children's literature revealed an increase in Latinx representation but a consistent use of stereotyping, while studies focused on gender (Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus, & Young, 2006) and disability (Dyches, Prater, & Jenson, 2006) reveal a continued lack of diversity in picture books.

Table 9: Children's Books By and About People of Color and First/Native Nations Received by the CCBC, 2006-2016 (adapted from chart at http://ccbc.education.wisc.edu/books/pcstats.asp)

Year	Books Received	African/ African American	American Indians	Asian Pacifics/ AP Americans	Latinas/os
		By/**About**	By/**About**	By/**About**	By/**About**
2016	3,400	92/**278**	22/**55**	212/**237**	101/**166**
2015	3,400	104/**265**	19/**42**	174/**112**	58/**82**
2014	3,500	84/**180**	20/**28**	129/**112**	59/**66**
2013	3,200	68/**93**	18/**34**	90/**69**	48/**57**
2012	3,600	68/**119**	6/**22**	83/**76**	59/**54**
2011	3,400	79/**123**	12/**28**	76/**91**	52/**58**
2010	3,400	102/**156**	9/**22**	60/**64**	55/**66**
2009	3,000	83/**157**	12/**33**	67/**80**	60/**61**
2008	3,000	83/**172**	9/**40**	77/**98**	48/**79**
2007	3,000	77/**150**	6/**44**	56/**68**	42/**59**
2006	3,000	87/**153**	14/**41**	72/**74**	42/**63**

In the last twenty years, the Cooperative Children's Book Center (CCBC) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison has published statistics about authors and illustrators of color (Table 9). CCBC data indicate that all communities of color continue to be

dramatically underrepresented in children's literature, and that sadly little progress has occurred since Larrick's study over fifty years ago. Koss' (2015) recent analysis of 455 picture books further reiterates that, fifty years after Larrick's 1965 study, children's literature is still dominated by white, middle class, cisgendered, abled characters and lacks diversity in race, gender, ethnicity, and ability. While storytelling has the potential to counter the effects of marginalization and oppression on children who are not of the dominant group, the findings of Koss (2015), the CCBC (2016), and the many researchers before them highlight the sheer difficulty of finding picture books that do not center dominant white experiences.

While explaining the state of representation in the world of children's literacy is quite forthright due to its measureability, defining authenticity is much more complex. Debates over cultural authenticity stem from the slurs, stereotypes, and assumptions that have historically been a part of children's literature (Mo & Shen, 2003) and are now subject to even greater scrutiny by proponents of multicultural education, who frequently view storytelling as a means to counter the effects of marginalization and oppression on children who are not of the dominant group. Yoo-Lee, Fowler, Adkins, Kim and Davis (2014) define cultural authenticity as "the absence of stereotypes but also the presence of values consistent with a particular culture and the accuracy of cultural details in text and illustrations" (p. 326).

Bishop (2003) argues that cultural authenticity matters because it is a political issue related to economics, cultural appropriation, ethnic pride, identity, and transmitting to children through story what it means to be a member of a particular group. Integral to

such cultural authenticity is the way in which groups are represented. This distinction is often examined through the author's position as a cultural insider or outsider. In response to the question, "Who can tell my story?", award-winning children's author Jacqueline Woodson stated, "My hope is that those who write about the tears and the laughter and the language in my grandmother's house have first sat down at the table with us and dipped the bread of their own experiences into our stew" (2003, p. 45). Woodson describes the need for people of color to tell their own stories, honestly and openly, rather than to be misrepresented when portrayed through the eyes of an outsider. While the import of cultural insidership remains contested, particularly by European American authors who claim the creative freedom to tell any story they so desire (see chapters by Lasky and Rochman in Fox & Short, 2003), it is nonetheless a significant issue regarding cultural authenticity in multicultural children's literature, particularly if the pedagogical goal in using such literature is to foster appreciation for and accurate understanding of difference among elementary students.

Asian American Children's Literature

The CCBC data from the last decade demonstrate that Asian American children's literature continues to comprise a very small percentage of annual publications. However, recent studies note several trends that indicate progress as well as room for improvement (Loh-Hagen, 2014; Yokota, 2009; Yoo-Lee, Fowler, Adkins, Kim, & Davis, 2014). Early children's literature about Asian Americans perpetuated stereotypes and maintained notions of Asian Americans as forever foreigners (Aoki, 1981; Tuan, 1998). Folktales, which are particularly pervasive in the realm of Asian American children's literature,

often reinforce and perpetuate Orientalist stereotypes of Asian Americans as exotic foreigners (Hartlep & Scott, 2016; Roy, 2008). However, folktales aside, studies reveal an increase in positive, non-stereotyped portrayals, historically accurate information, and contemporary representations of Asian American life in the last three decades (de Manuel & Davis, 2006; Harada, 1995). These studies also expressed the need for continued improvement in several areas.

First, while the forever foreigner stereotype is less present in other fictional works, many children's books include the model minority stereotype and highlight cultural markers such as dress, food, and language (Loh-Hagen, 2014). These examples of Asian American children's literature may ultimately reinforce stereotypes (Aoki, 1981) or emphasize cultural difference through a "tourist-multiculturalism" approach (Derman-Sparks, 1993) rather than deepen students' understanding of multiple cultural viewpoints (Agarwal-Rangnath, 2013).

Second, Asian American children's literature continues to focus on the histories and contemporary experiences of select groups: mostly Chinese and Japanese with more recent availability of books about Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese (Yi, 2014; Yokota, 2009). The six largest Asian American groups in the U.S. are (from greatest to least population) Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese (Taylor, 2012). Despite a U.S. population of over 3.5 million, Filipino Americans remain marginalized (Ocampo, 2016) as do Asian Americans with origins from other countries across Asia. The preponderance of books about Chinese and Japanese Americans also further conflates East Asian with Asian American.

Third, Yoo-Lee et al. (2014) note that Asian American children's literature often features assimilationist ideology and fails "to represent the full range of cultural experiences and histories, instead repeatedly exploring the same themes" (pp. 327-328), such as immigration and linguistic struggles. Yokota (2009) found that topics of generational conflict, culture clashes, and ethnic celebrations of New Year abound in Asian American children's literature, leaving other stories and celebrations untold. In spite of these drawbacks, there are many positive shifts in the landscape of multicultural children's literature that promote the visibility of Asian Americans.

In terms of authorship, many recent pieces of Asian American children's literature are authored by cultural insiders (Banks, 1998). Bishop (2003) and many other scholars describe the need for people of color to tell their own stories, honestly and openly, rather than to be misrepresented when portrayed through the eyes of an outsider (see Fox & Short, 2003). For example, Yoshiko Uchida, incarcerated at a camp in Topaz, Utah when she was a teenager, published dozens of books about Japanese American incarceration during World War II (see description of *The Bracelet* in Table 8). First-hand accounts like those of Uchida are significant in the (re)construction of Asian American histories through their own words, stories, oral histories, and writings (Takaki, 1998).

In support of authors being cultural insiders, Seto (2003) argues, "In the case of Asian Americans, our family histories on this continent are full of traumas European American writers cannot imagine; nor can they understand how those traumas have been passed on generation after generation and what they mean" (p. 95). Seto adds, "When a Euro-American writer pens a novel that is full of well-meaning but unconscious racial

and cultural stereotypes, he or she hurts the children of that heritage who are inevitably given that book, hurts their self-image, and, down the road, this translates into internalized racism and racial violence" (p. 96). Asian American authors like Uchida, Ken Mochizuki, and Thanh-ha Lai (see Table 10) draw from their personal experiences and family histories to center anti-Asian American racism in school and social settings in their children's literature.

Asian American Children's Literature as Counterstory

The critical use of multicultural children's literature, and Asian American picture books specifically, can result in "counterstorytelling" in the elementary classroom. Solorzano and Yosso (2002) define counterstory as "a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society). The counter-story is also a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege" and "can help strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 32). Given the invisibility of Asian Americans in schools, counterstories are important tools that can resist and disrupt the dominant curriculum and white normative conceptualizations of citizenship (Williams, 2004).

Bishop (1990) cautions that when children of the dominant group only see reflections of themselves in literature, "they will grow up with an exaggerated sense of their own importance and value in the world - a dangerous ethnocentrism" (p. x). In contrast to allowing marginalized groups to finally see themselves in texts, counterstories also benefit members of the dominant culture by helping them "overcome their

ethnocentrism and the unthinking conviction that [their] way of seeing the world is the only one--that the way things are is inevitable, natural, just, and best" (Delgado, 1989, p. 2439). Critical use of Asian American children's literature gives underrepresented Asian Americans voice, challenges stereotypes and misrepresentations pervasive in U.S. society, presents the complexity of racial and ethnic identity formation, and challenges readers "to consider how the world looks to groups of people that have traditionally been marginalized and oppressed, raising awareness of the inequalities those individuals face on a daily basis" (Hughes-Hassell, 2013, p. 215). Moreover, it presents Asian Americans as civic members of U.S. society, countering deeply fixed formations of Asian Americans as perpetual or forever foreigners (Lowe, 1996; Tuan, 1998).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

AsianCrit

Critical social studies educators interested in engaging with Asian American children's literature in their classrooms recognize that the diversity of Asian America goes beyond nationality and should pursue a range of depictions of immigrant generation, language, educational attainment, and gender representation (in addition to other aspects of identity) in order to avoid essentialization of Asian Americans and their experiences. Given the invisibility of Asian Americans in elementary curriculum (Hartlep & Scott, 2016), Asian American children's literature can be used to draw particular attention to Asian American experiences as well as how Asian Americans are and have been racialized in American society. These are key aspects of Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit) (Chang, 1993), with which this qualitative study is situated and analyzed.

In particular, this chapter will focus on two tenets of AsianCrit: *transnational contexts* and *strategic (anti)essentialism.* Museus (2014) describes the tenet of *transnational contexts* as "an understanding of how racism shapes Asian American experiences (and) is informed by a critical analysis of the ways that historical and current economic, political, and social processes within the United States shape the conditions of Asian Americans" (p. 24). As first- and second-generation Asian American immigrants, the three teachers in this study were acutely aware of the role of *transnational contexts* in the Asian American experience and used their own personal and family experiences to situate Asian American characters as civic agents and contributors to U.S. society. *Strategic (anti)-essentialism* recognizes that race is a social construction and dominant oppressive economic, political, and social forces impact how Asian Americans are racially categorized and racialized in society (Museus, 2014). Importantly, when collective consciousness among marginalized groups such as Asian Americans occurs, essentialism can be used strategically "in a scrupulously visible political interest" (Spivak, 1987, p. 205). However, when Asian Americans are essentialized in ways that depict them as an apolitical monolith, their unique identities, experiences, and histories are erased. AsianCrit repudiates this type of essentialization and instead demands the centering of diverse Asian Americans through their own voices.

Accommodation, Resistance, and Flexible Strategies-in-Between

With its focus on Asian American children's literature and the AsianCrit tenets of transnational contexts and strategic (anti-)essentialism, this chapter also draws on work from the field of Asian American literary criticism. As Nguyen (2002) explains,

> Asian American literary critics have generally approached Asian American literature as being symptomatic of ongoing historical concerns for Asian Americans... as cultural works that demonstrate resistance or accommodation to the racist, sexist, and capitalist exploitation of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans. (p. 4)

However, Nguyen finds this accommodation/resistance binary fundamentally incomplete and argues that authors often employ "flexible strategies" that navigate and negotiate their political and ethical situations, such as struggle, survival, and possible assimilation. Tuon (2014) extends Nguyen's (2002) work to the realm of children's literature by emphasizing how flexible strategies (such as accommodating *before* resisting) can be "more conducive to dialogue, understanding, and change between people of different cultures, histories, and ideologies than one that is either accommodating or resisting" (pp. 534-535). In particular, the youth protagonists commonly found in children's literature can be effective communicators of cultural and historical understanding and can evoke empathy and understanding among young readers. This chapter applies these notions of accommodation, resistance, and flexible "in-between" strategies to children's literature.

This chapter focuses on the research question, How do Asian American elementary teachers enact Asian American history through the use of picture books? This study examined enactment through a social process view that defined curriculum-in-use as shaped by the contextual activities of teachers and students (Cornbleth, 1985). As the three elementary teachers in this study - Elyse, Krishnan, and Virginia - used Asian American children's literature as keystones of their Asian American history instruction (see Table 10), two themes emerged in the data: first, the teachers used a variety of instructional approaches to provide historical contextualization for their Asian American

children's literature selections, such as supporting the literature through the use of primary sources, historicizing racism, and presenting nuanced and complex narratives. Second, the teachers' political and ideological clarity greatly informed how they used the books as counterstories to teach their students about Asian American history.

Table 10: Asian American Children's Literature Used by Participants, Spring 2016

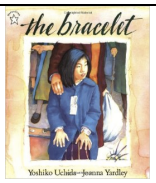
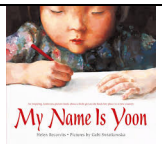
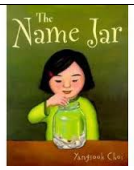
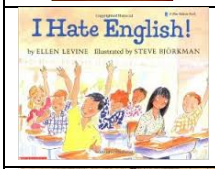
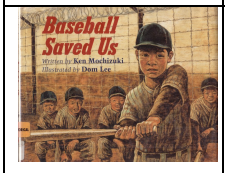
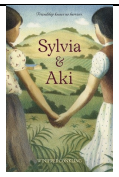
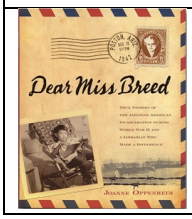
Book Cover	**Title, Author (Year of Publication)**	**Description**	**Participant & Date(s) of Lesson**
	*The Bracelet,* Yoshiko Uchida (1996)	Emi's family is forced to move to an internment camp and a friend gives her a bracelet to remember her by. Emi loses the bracelet but learns that she can carry the memory of her friend in her heart.	Elyse, 2/24/16 Virginia, 2/23-2/24/16
	*My Name is Yoon,* Helen Recorvits (2003)	Yoon has recently arrived in the U.S. and loves her Korean name, but her teacher wants her to write it in English.	Krishnan, 2/16-2/17, 2/19
	*The Name Jar,* Yangsook Choi (2001)	Unhei has moved to the U.S. from Korea and her classmates want to give her a new name.	Krishnan, 2/22-2/23
	*I Hate English!,* Ellen Levine (1989)	Mei Mei moves to New York from Hong Kong and is having a hard time adjusting to school and English.	Krishnan, 2/24-2/25
	*Baseball Saved Us,* Ken Mochizuki (1993)	Shorty's family leaves their home for an internment camp. The internees work together to create a baseball diamond and Shorty channels his anger and frustration from internment to baseball.	Elyse, 3/7-3/8/16
	*Inside Out and Back Again,* Thanhha Lai (2011)	Ha and her family flee Saigon during the Vietnam War. They spend time in refugee camps before moving to Alabama, where Ha and her brothers struggle with a new language, culture, and bullies.	Elyse, 3/28-4/19

Table 10: Asian American Children's Literature Used by Participants, Spring 2016 (continued)

	*Sylvia & Aki*, Winifred Conkling (2011)	Based on real events, Aki's family is forced to leave their California asparagus farm to be interned in Poston, Arizona while Sylvia's family rents the farm from Aki's family. The girls correspond and become friends.	Virginia, 5/2-5/6/16, 5/11/16, 5/17-19/16, 5/24-5/26/16
	*Dear Miss Breed*, Joanne Oppenheim (2006)	Clara Breed was a librarian in California during World War II who corresponded with the Japanese American children who frequented her library after they were forced to relocate to camps. This nonfiction book includes their letters to her.	Krishnan, 5/25/16

THE ROLE OF HISTORICAL CONTEXT IN USING ASIAN AMERICAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Historical fiction poses an analytic challenge to children as it simultaneously presents literature and interpretive history, requiring educators to understand both the literary and historical texts (Schwebel, 2011). In Asian American children's literature, the Asian American histories described may be unfamiliar to teachers and students. In order to better contextualize the histories described in children's books, the teachers in this study supported their picture book selections with supplementary primary sources, by adding complexity to the dominant narrative of history, and by historicizing racism and discrimination.

Supporting Stories with Primary Sources

Barton (2001) contends that for "children in the early grades, visual materials - both photographs and other kinds of pictures- tap into a wider range of historical information than do activities based solely on oral or written language" (p. 279) and can help students develop their own historical questions. Furthermore, primary sources can

help elementary children connect with history on a personal level while learning and practicing critical thinking and research skills, empathy, and historical inquiry (McCormick & Hubbard, 2011). Teachers can use primary sources alongside children's literature to introduce groups who are typically invisible in the curriculum - in this study, Asian Americans - and thereby disrupt official narratives, provide students with more nuanced understandings of U.S. history and its many diverse actors, and inspire a more critical consciousness of multiple perspectives.

Krishan's third grade unit on Asian immigration to the U.S. included three popular picture books: *My Name is Yoon, I Hate English!,* and *The Name Jar*[17] (see Table 10). Krishnan selected these books to provide an alternative to popular European and Mexican immigrant narratives, and introduced the picture books with a primary source slideshow to convey that "(immigration is) not simply a matter of moving from one place to another, but it's a complicated thing" (interview, 6/10/16). Krishnan's self-created slideshow began with dominant images of European immigrants at Ellis Island, then transitioned to contemporary photographs such as the destroyed city of Aleppo, refugees in line for food at a camp, and farmworkers in a field (see Appendix, Figures 5-7). As he discussed each image with his students, Krishnan addressed the challenges and complexities of immigration as related to five fundamental reasons why people immigrate (war, starvation, work, education, family) (classroom observation, 2/16/16). These photographs were in stark contrast to the brightly colored illustrations featured in the three books and offered students an opportunity to consider some of the

[17] All three books were chosen by Krishnan due to their availability in Spanish or ease of translation and featured recently-arrived female Asian youth who struggled adjusting to life in the U.S.

dehumanizing conditions and situations that immigrants face as they leave their home for a new place. Krishnan's primary source selections established immigration as a phenomenon that occurs in different historical moments, under multiple circumstances and conditions, and with a wide range of actors and experiences, setting the context for the three Asian American picture book examples.

Virginia used a different approach to introduce Asian American historical narratives through primary sources. Prior to reading several books about Japanese American incarceration, Virginia introduced her unit with primary sources through what she described as a "picture flood," during which her students rotated around assorted photographs related to the upcoming topic[18] (see Appendix, Figures 8-10) and discussed what they saw without teacher intervention. As her students made observations about the photographs, Virginia recorded their questions, which included, "*Why are they at these camps? What are the papers for? Who made them go to the camp? Why did they have to go?*" (classroom observation, 2/22/16). The next day, prior to reading *The Bracelet*, she reviewed their questions from the picture flood (see Appendix, Figure 11). "These are some questions that we're gonna be thinking about... We're gonna find out what is it that happened... that forced (Japanese Americans) to go (to the camps) - who forced them... and why did that happen?" (classroom observation, 2/23/16). In the middle of the book, one illustration mirrored the signage seen in a photograph during the picture flood (see Appendix, Figure 7 from *The Bracelet*), stating "I am an American." Because students recognized the phrase, they engaged in deep conversation about what it might mean,

[18] The images Virginia used for the "picture flood" were from the Library of Congress' Japanese Internment primary source set provided at the CCISD PD.

comparing the book's illustration to the photo seen the previous day. By sharing photographs of Japanese American incarceration prior to reading *The Bracelet,* Virginia elicited questions from her students that heightened their attention to particular events in the book, resulting in critical discussions throughout their reading of the text.

In these examples, Krishnan and Virginia used primary sources to introduce concepts *prior* to reading children's literature; this instructional approach activated students' prior knowledge (Vygotsky, 1978) and encouraged students to consider broader themes that would later be highlighted in the picture books read aloud in class. In the case of Krishnan's primary sources, he strategically chose images from various time periods and locales to show the multiple contexts in which immigration occurs (Seixas & Peck, 2004), both in terms of reasons for immigration as well as from different places around the world. This instructional decision established that immigration was not unique to the Asian American experience. Virginia, in contrast, focused solely on Japanese American incarceration during World War II to demonstrate the racialized nature of Japanese and Japanese American removal. For both teachers, primary sources were an important tool to introduce notions of (anti-)essentialism to their students in preparation for the content that followed in children's literature.

Adding Nuance and Complexity to the Dominant Narrative

The topic of immigration to the U.S. dominates Asian American children's literature (Stephens & Lee, 2006; Yi, 2014; Yokota, 2009). Many children's books about immigration include assimilationist ideologies that begin with cultural and/or linguistic resistance, but ultimately accommodate Eurocentric "American" culture and/or English

and celebrate the historical theme of achieving the American dream (Salinas, Fránquiz, & Naseem Rodríguez, 2016; VanSledright, 2008). Most children's literature about immigration also neglects issues related to documentation and unequal access to citizenship; however, critical educators can use picture books to discuss these difficult topics through a literary lens (Gonzalez, 2009).

Children's literature may use "flexible strategies" between full accommodation to racism and complete resistance (Nguyen, 2002) to attend to the complexities of the Asian American immigrant experience. For example, *Inside Out and Back Again* is the fictionalized account of a Vietnamese family that flees Saigon and resettles in the U.S., where the protagonist and her family face a barrage of racism and discrimination (see Table 10). By selecting this book for a read aloud, Elyse explained, "I definitely wanted to open (students' minds) to people who are immigrants, or people who don't know English very well... just helping them understand that the norms are different in different cultures" (interview, 5/10/16). She added that her students have "only been alive for eight or nine years. Sometimes they don't realize they have norms until they're taken out of their norms... you learn about yourself when you read or learn about someone else's experience." For Elyse, who identified as Vietnamese American, *Inside Out and Back Again* presented a rare Asian American narrative with which she personally identified that pushed her students to reconsider cultural differences, stereotypes, and the complexities of the immigrant struggle.

Susina (1991) and Tuon (2014) argue that children's literature like *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011) can develop social consciousness with readers through its

nuanced and complex picture of the Vietnam war, Vietnamese refugees, and Americans. Tuon (2014) attributes this to the author's flexible strategy in writing "first alongside and then against the grain of Orientalist discourse about Viet Nam and, later in the book, alongside and against the stereotypical images of the American South" (p. 534). Lai's (2011) compelling child narrator is essential in this project: the character of Hà is a defiant and adventurous girl who is as mischievous as she is kind. The reader sees Saigon through Hà's eyes, which helps dispel preconceived notions about Southeast Asia. As the story continues and Hà's family eventually settles in Alabama, Hà confronts racism while the reader encounters "a gentle yet persuasive critique of the U.S. and its treatment of Vietnamese refugees" (Tuon, 2014, p. 534). While reading the book, Elyse added family anecdotes, such as comparing a scene when Hà's family mourns the death of the father with incense to her own experience when her grandfather died (interview, 5/10/16). By connecting Hà's story to her own family, Elyse employed a flexible strategy between resistance and accommodation that was more conducive to student dialogue and understanding people of different cultures, histories, and ideologies (Tuon, 2014).

Krishnan took a different approach to nuancing to his social studies instruction by linking Asian American historical narratives to current events. At the end of a unit on Japanese American incarceration taught to his fifth grade students, Krishnan screened a short film featuring Muslim American children reading letters written by Japanese American camp survivors when they were children (Chi, 2016). This aspect of Krishnan's lesson highlighted Japanese American activism and resistance while also expressing the Santayanan purpose (VanSledright, 1997) of learning "lessons from the past."

Importantly, during the spring 2016 semester during which Krishnan taught this lesson, the political rhetoric surrounding possible exclusion and registries of Muslims from the U.S. was at a fever pitch, with some pundits and presidential candidates suggesting that Japanese American incarceration served as a precedent for such actions. Krishnan described his interest in "teaching about historical incidents in the past where there's a disconnect between... American values of equality, of equity, of free speech, and actual practices that are happening... there's a connection between those things in history and our present reality" (interview, 6/10/16). By explicitly connecting Japanese American incarceration to the present-day prejudice experienced by Muslim Americans, Krishnan used a socio-political lens to identify Asian American political and civil struggles in the past and present while adding complexity to class conversations about national security and ways to improve American society (classroom observation, 5/25/16).

Matsuda (1996) posits, "If Asian-American identity is constructed, and constructed in part by a history of activism, then issues do define us" (p. 177). Krishnan and Elyse critically utilized children's literature to move away from simplistic pro-American narratives and traditional immigrant stories and instead provided examples of how politics, power, and racism directly affect the lives and complex civic identities of Asian Americans. Their shared recognition of "the importance of historical and contemporary national and international contexts for Asian Americans" (Museus, 2013, p. 24) embodied the AsianCrit tenet of transnational contexts and was integral in understanding how Asian Americans have been and continue to be racialized. Ching and Pataray-Ching (2003) encourage such socio-political evaluative frameworks that locate

the intersection of national and local memory and make audible the marginalized voices of Asian Americans.

Historicizing Racism and Discrimination in the U.S.

Issues of race and power are crucial to the field of social studies, yet often go untaught in favor of less controversial, dominant white narratives (Chandler & McKnight, 2011). On those occasions when communities of color are represented in the curriculum, they are typically confined to isolated historical moments that depict injustice as bound to a particular timeframe (e.g., enslaved Africans in the South until the end of the Civil War, Chinese railroad workers in the 19th century). Beyond those isolated moments of inclusion, no continuous history of racism and discrimination in the United States is represented in the curriculum (Wills, 1996) and difficult histories are avoided (Salinas & Alarcón, 2016). Consequently, as Montecinos (1995) maintains, "The use of a master narrative to represent a group is bound to provide a very narrow depiction of what it means to be Mexican-American, African American, white, and so on" and instead "essentializes and wipes out the complexities and richness of a group's cultural life" (p. 293), effectively distorting and silencing the contributions of non-white others and leaving the master narrative intact (Brown & Brown, 2015).

Counternarratives in the form of children's literature, however, can "expose the relationship between power, privilege, and the historical narratives found and not found in the school curricula" (Salinas, Fránquiz, & Naseem Rodríguez, 2016, p. 436). Virginia used dozens of picture books over the span of the spring 2016 semester to historicize race and discrimination in the United States across multiple groups. For example, a month

before reading children's literature about Japanese American incarceration such as *The Bracelet, Baseball Saved Us,* and *Sylvia and Aki* (see Table 8), Virginia's students spent several weeks studying the long Civil Rights Movement (Hall, 2005) through picture books. Many of these books featured African American historical figures and characters who were agents of change in the face of racism and discrimination, and subsequently Virginia's students began to develop fluency in identifying and describing racial injustice and resistance. By the time they read the Asian American picture books listed above, they were already aware of multiple non-Asian American individuals and groups who faced injustice and discrimination similar to the Japanese American protagonists. While reading *The Bracelet,* a student named Symphony noted, "They're being sent to other places just 'cause how they look and they can't go to places 'cause of how they look" (classroom observation, 2/23/16). She and other students made connections between Japanese American incarceration and *Cheyenne Again* (Bunting, 2002), a book about a Native American boy sent to a boarding school, and the treatment of African Americans during the long Civil Rights Movement. These associations to other racial groups and time periods indicate the development of Virginia's students' understanding of racism as a historical issue that affected multiple groups over time, rather than as a singular event that occurred in isolation.

Virginia's historicization of racism and discrimination contrasted significantly with Elyse's ahistorical approach that reinforced the dominant narrative of history even when Asian American narratives were centered through children's literature. For example, as Elyse read *Baseball Saved Us*, her third graders fell prey to the dominant

narrative that Japanese Americans were locked up "to keep them safe," "to make sure nothing happens to the U.S.," and "because (the U.S.) want them to be safe from the bombing" (student responses, classroom observation, 3/17/16), notions that Elyse left unexplored and uncomplicated. As they proceeded through the text, the students became intrigued by the white armed guard stationed in a tower at the edge of the prison camp. The absence of conversations about injustice and discrimination coupled with an unquestioned acceptance of Japanese American relocation and imprisonment resulted in the accommodation of the racist narrative of Japanese Americans' incarceration as a reasonable response in the interest of wartime security, as well as the appropriation of incarceration as an act of goodwill that effectively protected Japanese and Japanese Americans on U.S. soil. Moreover, by omitting the racist history of incarceration and focusing discussion on the guard rather than the Japanese American characters, both Elyse and her students situated the painful experiences of Japanese Americans at the periphery of their conversations rather than centering them. Elyse's use of *Baseball Saved Us* illustrates the importance of historically contextualizing Asian American children's literature; when conversations about power, race, and discrimination are absent, picture books about Asian American experiences and histories can advance the dominant narrative rather than serving as counternarratives.

Asian American children's literature offers opportunities for teachers to expose their students to texts that center Asian American experiences and agentic narratives. However, it is possible for teachers and students to employ characters of color "for their own purposes of inquiring into race in a safe manner--on White terms" wherein people of

color "function solely to allow White people to reflect on their racial identities" (Rogers & Christian, 2007, p. 37), thereby reinforcing the dominant narrative and decentering the Asian American counternarrative. Some pieces of Asian American children's literature, and works about Japanese American incarceration in particular, may also reinforce the model minority stereotype and perpetuate conceptualizations of Asian Americans as forever foreigners if teachers simply highlight the obedience and resilience of Japanese and Japanese Americans, neglecting any acts of resistance or outrage at the discrimination and rights violations perpetrated against them.

Teorey (2008) argues that literature about Japanese American incarceration performs important cultural work by focusing on community building, reaffirming Japanese Americans' self-respect, and asserting their rights as equal members in the larger society. I argue that the teaching of such difficult histories remains incomplete if discussions of incarceration fail to problematize America's segregated, hierarchical society and inadequately address the prejudice and civil rights violations faced by Japanese Americans before, during, and after World War II. Furthermore, teachers must be purposeful in deconstructing dominant notions that equate U.S. citizenship with Whiteness (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Gotanda, 2010; Rosaldo, 1997), a concept explored further in the next chapter. Thus, Asian American children's literature provides one avenue for educators to begin these conversations as it often explores the struggle for membership faced by people viewed as outsiders (Ching & Pataray-Ching, 2003).

The teachers' common use of primary sources and more complex and nuanced approaches to dominant narratives revealed the importance of establishing historical

context to better situate Asian American historical narratives found in children's literature. The particular challenge of historicizing racism and discrimination, as exemplified by the divergent uses of Asian American picture books by Elyse and Virginia, demonstrated the influence of teachers' ideological and political clarity upon their pedagogy, which will be discussed in depth in the section that follows.

THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN USING ASIAN AMERICAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Children's literature itself "does not contain the meaning but holds a chain of possible meanings--brought to life by particular readers in particular contexts, times, geographic locales, etc... [and] places the reader as the interpreter of the author's cultural representation" (Rogers & Christian, 2007, pp. 25-26). A more critical understanding of the treatment of "the Other" in picture books is essential in fostering young students' understandings of identity, culture, and citizenship, particularly due to the racialized history of the United States. As Chandler and McKnight (2011) argue, the stories told in popular society and schools

> have successfully sustained "whiteness," a cultural category that has been able to dominate and oppress, hence turning whiteness into all that is perceived as normal, and all non-whiteness as "Other." The socio-psychological effect of this is the complete lack of need to differentiate and speak of the story in terms of race, for the assumption is that the story is about what matters and "white" is all that matters. (p. 216)

When stories are undergirded by assimilationist and linguistic ideologies that uphold white, middle class (Christian, heteronormative, cisgender) norms, the image of the ideal American citizen remains unchanged even if immigrant children are the main characters.

For critical social studies educators, "the selection and application of Asian American children's literature necessitates a socio-political lens that moves beyond finite

lists based predominantly on textual and illustrative characteristics... and more effectively articulates the complexities of... culture" (Ching & Pataray-Ching, 2003, p. 124). Simply including diverse multicultural literature is not enough; teachers can only support positive social change in the classroom if they possess political and ideological clarity (Bartolomé, 1994, 2008) and evoke meaningful conversations that attend to the control, deployment, and management of power often overlooked in picture books (Ching, 2005). De Manuel and Davis (2006) warn against uncritical, untheorized examinations of multicultural texts which result in "tourist-multiculturalism" that trivializes, patronizes, and stereotypes cultures and avoids realistic and contemporary depictions (Derman-Sparks, 1993). Such tourist-multiculturalism offers uncritical representations that accommodate the racist, sexist, and capitalist exploitation of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans rather than revealing the complexity of the immigrant experience and the nuances of struggle and survival in a new place (Nguyen, 2002).

When teachers ignore or negate the political nature of their work, they reproduce the status quo by reinforcing the cultural ideology of white supremacy and legitimizing schools' discriminatory practices (Bartolomé, 1994). Of the three teachers in this study, Elyse displayed the least political clarity, which Bartolomé (1994) defines as "the process by which individuals achieve a deepening awareness of the sociopolitical and economic realities that shape their lives and their capacity to recreate them" (p. 178) and linkages between sociocultural structures and schooling. For example, when asked what she thought of CCISD's replacement of social studies textbooks with consumable *Social Studies Weekly* readers, Elyse responded, "It's better than the book, and there's a website

you can go on. It can read to the kids... I think the content is better. I think it's great that you can take it home... It's more engaging and hands-on" (interview, 1/15/16). Elyse, a veteran educator who only taught social studies for two years total in her teaching career prior to the 2015-2016 school year, was uncritical of the dominant whitewashed narrative of history that was even more simplified and exclusionary in *Social Studies Weekly* due to the condensed nature of the newspaper layout. For Elyse, online supplements and a nontraditional format made the new curriculum more appealing than old textbooks, but she seemed unconcerned with the nature of the historical narrative in either resource. Her acceptance of *Social Studies Weekly* as an appropriate, and even neutral, history resource made evident her lack of political clarity and limited historical content knowledge.

In an interview, Elyse also revealed an assimilationist ideology. Recalling her own experiences as an English language learner and former Vietnamese dual language teacher, she stated,

> Sometimes I feel like we give these bilingual kids too much of a crutch... I feel like being a product of the whole system, I was able to come over here and learn English and take the test in English and still keep my Vietnamese heritage, my language, all of that stuff... But I think that's part of the journey, coming over. If you're gonna come over from another country, you need to learn the language... Don't lose your culture but you need to learn this new culture, too (interview, 6/10/16).

Elyse's statement revealed an acquiescence to English hegemony as she suggested that learning English was part of an immigrant's obligation upon arrival in the U.S. and that non-dominant cultural and linguistic maintenance should be consigned to families within the home rather than the task of public schools. Furthermore, her comment insinuated a belief in meritocracy - if she was able to learn English and be academically successful

without the support of bilingual education, then other immigrant children should be able to do the same. Bartolomé (1994) maintains that teachers who ignore or negate the political nature of their work reproduce the status quo and legitimize the discriminatory practices of schools and their curriculum. Elyse's elevation of English at the expense of non-English languages indicated her support of the linguistic hegemony of English in school spaces and an overall assimilationist ideology that upheld a "cultural" ideology of white supremacy (Bartolomé, 1994)

In contrast, Krishnan exhibited significantly greater political and ideological clarity in his interviews, but not in his classroom praxis. In interviews, he described the importance of multilingualism and recounted telling his students, "Look, I lost my heritage language. I spoke a language with my parents at home and I don't anymore and I regret it" (interview, 1/31/16). Yet when he read aloud *I Hate English!* and *My Name is Yoon*, both books in which the main characters resist using English at school, Krishnan did not attend to the tensions between non-English language use at home and English only at school with his third grade students. In an interview, Krishnan also explained, "being first generation, also, I went through that experience. I know how it is to [have] to shuffle between cultures" (interview, 1/31/16). However, he did not draw from his own transnational experiences when he described his childhood immigration experience with his class. Although Krishnan understood assimilationist and language ideologies in society and in his own lived experiences, he did not articulate these understandings in his pedagogy and often relegated his instructional emphases to Spanish language development. Rather than fostering understandings of how immigrants are forced to adapt

to a new country, culture, and language in difficult and even traumatic ways through his choices in children's literature, he would follow up student questions and comments with, "It's complicated" rather than explore *why* such issues were complicated (classroom observation, 3/15/16). In interviews, he conceded that his students were ready for these conversations, but as a teacher he was torn between teaching social justice content and preparing his students for standardized assessments. Krishnan admitted, "I'm also in some part equally motivated by teaching for achievement... I still have that need to show my worth and value as a teacher by having good [Texas standardized assessment] scores" (interview, 6/10/16). Ideologically, Krishnan knew the value of critical social justice teaching and learning, but he was not able to fully commit to these beliefs pedagogically.

Finally, unlike Krishnan and Elyse, Virginia exhibited political and ideological clarity that was evident in her deliberate approach to teaching difficult histories through diverse children's literature. Bartolomé (1994) insists, "Teachers play a significant role in creating learning contexts in which students are able to empower themselves. Teachers act as cultural mentors of sorts" (p. 188). Virginia acted as a cultural mentor when she shared many personal stories to help her second graders understand the importance of heritage languages to herself and others. While reading the historical fiction novel *Sylvia and Aki* (see Table 8), which juxtaposes the experiences of Mexican American Sylvia Mendez and Japanese American Aki Munemitsu during World War II, Virginia asked her students to repeat a phrase in Japanese that was used in the book. As two children began to speak in gibberish, Virginia took advantage of the interaction to make students think more deeply about the effects of mocking an unfamiliar language:

> I'm gonna tell you right now, when I was little and people would find out that I was Chinese, they would just say a bunch of random words to me that didn't even make sense, they weren't even real Chinese words. And that was very hurtful because my language is important to me. Just like Japanese is important to (the characters in *Sylvia and Aki*). So can we try to say them correctly? ...It doesn't seem like we're hurting anybody, but it's to be respectful. (classroom observation, 5/26/16)

This example illustrates how educators with political clarity can interrogate themes of assimilationist and linguistic ideology that often situate Asian Americans as exotic, foreign Others while maintaining norms of Americans as white and English-speaking.

Importantly, Virginia did not simply scold her students but was careful to explain why linguistic mockery is hurtful and to emphasize proper pronunciation as a form of respect. Bartolomé (2008) suggests that "it is not enough to struggle to name and critique these discriminatory ideologies and practices; there is also an urgent need to identify effective counter-hegemonic orientations and pedagogical interventions that work to neutralize unequal material conditions and biased beliefs" (pp. ix-x). In contrast, while in interviews Krishnan described many experiences similar to Virginia's linguistic classroom anecdote, he did not share them with his students. When he encountered parallel moments in the Asian American children's literature he read aloud in class, he did not pause to highlight the language ideologies at work. The intentional acknowledgement of underlying ideologies within children's literature is essential to disrupting dominant norms and revealing the racialized relationships of power that occur throughout American history.

For underrepresented students, picture books offer an opportunity to see oneself in literature while providing new cultural, social, and political perspectives to those who are

part of the dominant group and allowing both groups to see the value of their respective cultures (Yoon, Simpson, & Haag, 2010). As the social studies curriculum in the U.S. consists of a discourse of invisibility for every non-European group (Ladson-Billings, 2003), the use of *Other* perspectives is essential in the creation of more diverse examples of civic identity, civic membership, and civic agency. For Asian Americans, who confront a contradiction between an imposed racial identity and their self-constructed radical political identity that emerged from the Civil Rights Movement in the 1970s (Espiritu, 1992; Nguyen, 2002; Ocampo, 2016), Asian American children's literature can make Asian Americans and their diverse civic identities finally visible if educators use political and ideological clarity to inform discussions of power and racism with students.

DISCUSSION

This chapter explored the research question, How do Asian American elementary teachers enact Asian American history through the use of picture books? The two themes that emerged from the data were the role of historical contextualization (such as supporting literature through primary sources, providing more nuanced and complex historical narratives, and historicizing racism and discrimination) and the role of political and ideological clarity in the teachers' praxis with Asian American picture books. As they taught Asian American histories through children's literature, three findings surfaced from their work. First, their classroom practice demonstrated the complex nature of curricular integration. Second, they used Asian American children's literature as a tool for critical historical thinking. Third, they revealed the hybrid nature of the Asian American experience through children's literature.

Curricular Integration of Social Studies & Language Arts

Curricular integration has a long, contested history and multiple definitions (Beane, 1997). Specific to the combination of social studies learning standards with language arts standards, curricular integration has been associated with both student achievement (Halverson et al., 2012) as well as "curricular convenience," when social studies is only superficially included and is mostly supplanted by reading instruction (Boyle-Baise et al., 2008, 2011). When done successfully, curricular integration makes learning more meaningful, engages and motivates learners, saves instructional time, and advances students' understandings of diversity and social justice in meaningful ways (Halvorsen & Alleman, 2015). However, integration can also result in social studies emerging solely through unplanned asides with the primary instructional focus on literacy (Boyle-Baise et al., 2011). Given that elementary educators have far more training in language arts than in social studies (Bolick, Adams, & Willox, 2010; Russell, 2009), it is common for teachers' interactions with children's literature to emphasize more literary aspects than concepts of social studies (Schwebel, 2011).

Therefore the teachers' enactment of Asian American histories illustrated the significance of establishing historical context and using political and ideological clarity to support the narratives contained in picture books as historical counternarratives. Without substantive historical context and critical pedagogy, children's literature may perpetuate the dominant narrative of history, fall victim to ahistorical presentism (Wineburg, 2001), and ultimately lose its social studies and language arts curricular purposes. Importantly, critical approaches to multicultural children's literature should deal with issues around power, race, class, authentic representation, and cultural authenticity (Gopalakrishnan,

2010), and Asian American children's literature can elicit critical discussion of these historical narratives.

Ideally, effective integrated curriculum should play a role in citizenship education, which draws broadly from knowledge and skills across subjects (Bennett & Hinde, 2015). From an AsianCrit perspective, recognizing the political and economic forces that have motivated Asian American immigration since the 1800s until the present establishes transnational contexts through which we might better understand the dynamic history of Asian American activism and resistance that has resulted from the strategic grouping and sub-grouping of different Asian American ethnicities and nationalities (Chang, 1999; Lowe, 1996; Maeda, 2012). Through the intentional pedagogical inclusion of the AsianCrit tenets of transnational contexts and strategic (anti-)essentialism (Museus, 2014), Asian American histories can better situate the historical and ongoing struggles of Asian Americans to be seen as civic members of U.S. society.

Children's Literature Counterstories as a Tool for Critical Historical Inquiry

Critical historical inquiry focuses on the interpretation of primary sources and the narratives that emerge, acknowledging that history is not neutral but rather multi-faceted and complex (Salinas, Blevins, & Sullivan, 2012). As teachers engage in conversations about racism and discrimination in regard to Asian Americans and other groups, they may broaden the historical narrative and students' subsequent understandings of immigration and citizenship. The use of critical historical inquiry by teachers allows their students to engage in interpretation and meaning-making, furthering their understandings of power and agency.

Traditional interpretations of historical inquiry focus solely on the use of primary sources. I argue that children's literature adds an important facet to critical historical inquiry that draws from the strength of picture books to express multiple perspectives and to encourage children to empathize and care about the protagonists. Barton and Levstik's (2009) two-fold approach to historical empathy includes perspective-taking as well as caring. The authors describe care as "a tool people use to establish their connection to the past; they use it in determining how they feel about history rather than what they think about it--although in practice, the two cannot be so easily separated" (p. 229). Two devices often found in multicultural children's literature are particularly effective at eliciting caring from young readers: the use of child narrators and "double narratives" (Barker, 2013).

As naive Asian American child narrators (including those in *The Bracelet, Baseball Saved Us, Sylvia and Aki, I Hate English!,* and *My Name is Yoon*) experience their stories, they may reveal events and actions related to racism and historical violence that they don't fully comprehend. These experiences are often marked by flexible strategies between accommodation and resistance to racism (Nguyen, 2002; Tuon, 2014) as the narrators struggle to deal with and understand various events in the story. Such an approach is typically nonthreatening and draws readers in, establishing "a trusting relationship between narratee and narrator" (Barker, 2013, p. 177). Likewise, Delgado (1989) reminds us that in order to be effective, counterstories must appear noncoercive and "invite the reader to suspend judgment, listen for their point or message, and then decide what measure of truth they contain" (p. 2415). Many pieces of Asian American

children's literature feature school-age protagonists with whom students can relate, providing a sense of the familiar in otherwise unfamiliar characters, settings, or plot lines.

The second literary counterstory device found in Asian American children's literature is the use of the "double narrative" (Barker, 2013). Double narratives include common problem/solution storylines alongside narratives of racism and discrimination during particular historical moments; for example, the character of Hà in *Inside Out and Back Again* adjusts to life in a new place, where she makes friends and is bullied in school. However, alongside this common narrative is the refugee context through which Hà arrived in the United States, which ultimately bonds her to an English tutor whose son died fighting in Vietnam while also resulting in various racialized experiences that position her and her family as foreigners. Teachers play an important role in deciding whether they emphasize both parts of a double narrative; for educators inclined to avoid difficult histories and topics, they may disengage with the historical narrative so as to not seem too political. However, as teaching is a political act (Apple, 2000), critical educators can emphasize the double narratives to constitute historical arguments (Schwebel, 2011), using student affinity for characters and plot as a starting point to develop critical historical inquiry and to compare counternarratives to the dominant narrative of history.

Hybridity in Asian American Children's Literature

Drawing from the work of Ross (1993), Sleeter and McLaren (1995) suggest that the task of critical pedagogy is to "construct identity allegorically in order that each group is able to see his or her cultural narrative in a broader and comparative relationship to

others and within a larger narrative of social transformation" (p. 17). Such critical conversations can also be important spaces in which teachers can introduce notions of hybridity that are essential to the Asian American experience. Ang (2001) argues for "the importance of hybridity as a means of bridging and blurring the multiple boundaries which constitute 'Asian' and 'Western' identities as mutually exclusive and incommensurable" (p. 193). As de Manuel and Davis (2006) explain,

> Asian American children are thus caught in a triple bind: pressured to remain faithful to ancestral heritage, while at the same time admonished to assimilate and become fully American, but ultimately finding that because of their Asian genes, many Americans will never give them full acceptance. (p. vi-vii)

This "triple bind" is the crux of hybridity as Asian American children negotiate the role of culture and language in their identity development, and should serve as a focal point for social studies educators seeking to present their students with diverse representations of Asian American identities and experiences.

Hybridity is a "crucial, life-sustaining tactic of everyday survival and practice" (Ang, 2001, p. 73) that is increasingly depicted in Asian American children's literature as Asian American protagonists come "to terms with dualities of heritage, culture and memory" (Chattarji, 2010, p. 423). Ching and Pataray-Ching (2003) claim that Asian American children's literature is inherently hybrid, claiming a distinct cultural and creative space due to socio-political contexts while seeking "membership with the dominant culture as it pushes the boundaries of mainstream perspectives; it conforms to national history as it recovers and extends the arc of local memory" (pp. 123-124).

Hybridity is particularly significant in broadening understandings of civic identity and civic membership among young learners. As Chattarji (2010) explains, "Becoming

American is, as innumerable studies testify, a fraught and complex process defying the comfortable linearity outlined in most children's literature" (p. 426). Becoming American involves the constant vacillation between racial accommodation and resistance, residing in the many flexible spaces in-between (Nguyen, 2002) - an "interstitial zone of displacement and deterritorialization that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 18) akin to Anzaldúa's (1987) notion of the borderlands. This understanding of hybridity, and its subsequent reinterpretation of traditional notions of citizenship, encompasses much more than traditional picture book themes of immigration, cultural adjustment, and language acquisition. Therefore, Asian American children's literature offers opportunities for educators to understand and articulate these complexities of "Americanness" and becoming American to their students, which in turn serves to disrupt pervasive stereotypes of Asian Americans that position them as immigrants rather than citizens, and foreigners rather than Americans.

CONCLUSION

There is transformative potential that lies in the learning and teaching of groups and historical moments typically overlooked in elementary school curriculum. Lessons about Asian American history based on children's literature, such as those described in this chapter, can inform how teachers and students understand their sociocultural present as well as broaden understandings of citizenship and the role of agency. Macedo and Bartolomé (1999) define a "pedagogy of hope" as one that rejects the social construction of images that dehumanize the Other. Critical elementary educators can use Asian American children's literature as a tool to embark upon a pedagogy of hope that "points

out that in our construction of the other we become intimately tied with that other; a pedagogy that teaches us that by dehumanizing the other we become dehumanized ourselves" (Macedo & Bartolomé, 1999, p. 29). Stories are a powerful means by which we can construct and see ourselves in relation to others, appreciate difference, and evaluate experience (Dyson & Genishi, 1994) and Asian American children's literature is especially well-suited to introduce Asian American voices, images, stories, and struggles to elementary students.

CHAPTER 6: "YOU CAN BE A BRIDGE": BROADENING UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP IN ELEMENTARY CLASSROOMS

Our backs tell stories no books have the spine to carry.

Milk & Honey, Rupi Kaur

INTRODUCTION

While the panethnic term Asian American masks great ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious, and other forms of diversity (Espiritu, 1992), its sociopolitical roots are grounded in shared historical limitations on citizenship privilege, social mobility, and economic opportunities, which served as the basis for the development of a shared Asian American identity (Iwata, 2005). This panethnicity can be a means to express agency and "to contest systems of racism and inequality in American society--systems that seek to exclude, marginalize and homogenize" (Espiritu, 1992, p. 175) Asian Americans. One of the most significant aspects of Asian American history is the designation of Asians as "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (Parker, 1925), distinguishing them from other migrant or racialized groups and distancing Asians from the national cultural terrain (Lowe, 1996). This distinct disenfranchisement on the basis of citizenship illustrates the importance of uncovering histories that are usually hidden in schools, especially at the elementary level, as well as the significance of broader understandings of citizenship.

This chapter is guided by the following research question: How are Asian American elementary teachers' pedagogical decisions influenced by their understandings of citizenship? The theoretical frame of AsianCrit revealed the tensions of broadening young students' understandings of civic identity and civic agency as the teachers made

curricular and instructional decisions in the teaching of Asian American histories. AsianCrit was essential to this examination as it centered the Asian American experience in the teachers' decision-making processes, asserting the significance of their "common identity" as Asian Americans (Omi, 1997) in spite of their personal and professional differences.

Many scholars agree that the primary purpose of the social studies is citizenship education (Barton & Levstik, 2009; Dewey, 1916; Parker, 2003), however what citizenship education should look like is often contested (Boyle-Baise & Zevin, 2009). Although some teachers highlight civic opportunities for young children to identify and seek solutions to social issues in their classrooms and local communities (Blevins & LeCompte, 2015; Mitra & Serriere, 2015), citizenship education in elementary schools is typically relegated to learning mainstream civic knowledge (Parker, 2003) and telling simplistic and often inaccurate tales of great American heroes (Kohl, 1994). Gutmann (1999) cautions that if primary schooling instills a capacity for political criticism in students without an understanding of political participation or a sense of social commitment, "either because it fails to cultivate their sense of political efficacy or because it succeeds in teaching them deference to authority, then it will have neglected to cultivate a virtue essential to democracy" (p. 92). Unfortunately, schools generally ignore complex and inclusive renditions of citizenship, instead presenting narrow, simplified constructions that leave many students feeling detached and unrecognized (Parker, 2003; Taylor, 2009).

In particular, students of color may have experiences that differ drastically from

textbook depictions of citizenship and result in racial, ethnic, and religious identification before national allegiance (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Ghaffar-Kucher, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2004). In consideration of such diverse students, Rubin, Hayes, and Benson (2009) argue,

> larger social forces and young people's daily experiences in schools affect their emerging senses of themselves as civic beings... to understand this process, we must consider how students' daily experiences in a society marked by racial and socioeconomic inequalities become part of their evolving understandings of themselves as citizens. This reframes discussion of civic learning to include the notion that civic identity (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997) is constructed or developed amid particular structures and practices (p. 214).

Students who occupy more privileged social locations are more likely to engage as traditional participatory citizens (Tupper, 2006), while individuals whose multiple identities are marginalized by the broader society may be less apt to identify as citizens (Ladson-Billings, 2004). As the ideals of citizenship found in school spaces do not necessarily match students' life experiences, Abu El-Haj (2007) calls for public schools to reinvigorate their "commitment to citizenship education in ways that engage with diversity, conflict, and structural inequalities," recognizing schools as "one of the few sites in which youth come together across the many communities that constitute our global village" (p. 312). By reframing citizenship education in this way, teachers expand definitions of civic membership and can thereby construct more robust possibilities for civic identity and civic agency.

Cultural Citizenship

The principle of equal citizenship has become universally accepted in the United States and American public schools, yet Asian Americans along with other marginalized groups are "simultaneously perceived as less than fully American and have been

structurally excluded from accessing their rights as members of this society to full economic, social, cultural, and political participation" (Abu El-Haj, 2007, p. 310). To address this "uneven field of structural inequalities" (Rosaldo, 1997, p. 37), Rosaldo (1997) forwarded the notion of cultural citizenship, "a process that involves claiming membership in, and remaking, America" (Rosaldo & Flores, 1997, p. 58) with an emphasis on the agency of marginalized groups in establishing and asserting human, social, and cultural rights to enfranchise themselves (Flores & Benmayor, 1997; Kang, 2010). Ong (1996) adds that cultural citizenship is "a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (p. 738) and troubles the notion that cultural citizenship is focused solely on race and immigration status by complicating it with class differences and the effect of international events.

Asian American Citizenship

Asian American immigration history in relation to U.S. citizenship is distinct from other migrant or racialized groups as Asians are the only group for whom legislation was crafted to exclude their entry into the United States (e.g., Page Act of 1875, Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882) and the only group legally rendered "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (Naturalization Act of 1870). The Immigration Act of 1924 completed full Asiatic exclusion and "codified the principle of racial exclusion into the main body of American immigration and naturalization law" (Ngai, 2004, p. 37). From the earliest Chinese immigrants during the Gold Rush to President Trump's 2017 Executive Order to ban refugees from multiple Central Asian countries, the United States' immigration policy was built on legal definitions of "white" and the rule of racial unassimilability

(Ngai, 2004) that have impacted a wide range of Asian American experiences and opportunities, from basic rights such as access to public schooling and the right to testify as a witness in court to the rights to own property and marry interracially (Lee, 2015; Sohoni, 2007). Thus, immigration is the most important historical and discursive site of Asian American formation as it has directly impacted Asian American citizenship, naturalization, and racialization for the last one hundred and fifty years (Lowe, 1996).

As with other marginalized groups, changing historical conceptions of race continue to disrupt Asian Americans' ability to function and be identified as U.S. citizens; in the American imagination, to be Asian American means to act according to fundamentally different cultural dictates regardless of legal status or political activity (Volpp, 2011) that render individuals unassimilable and immutably foreign. Being viewed as perpetual or forever foreigners (Tuan, 1998) is an experience common to many Asian Americans (as well as Latinx), whose sheer presence challenges the requirements for recognition as citizen in the United States (Young, 2004). As Tupper (2006) notes, modern-day "citizenship has not necessarily transcended the exclusions that once shaped its very existence" (pp. 46-47).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Gutmann (1999), "democratic education begins not only with children who are to be taught but also with citizens who are to be their teachers... citizens whose religious, political, and social commitments have already been shaped by their early education" (p. 49). In response to the research question, How are Asian American elementary teachers' pedagogical decisions influenced by their understandings of

citizenship?, this chapter analyzes the teachers' civic education pedagogy through the theoretical lens of AsianCrit, with an emphasis on the tenets of *story, theory and praxis* and *the commitment to social justice* as the educators reflected on their own ethnoracial experiences while teaching Asian American histories. The tenet of *story, theory and praxis* "underscores the notion that counterstories, theoretical work, and practice are important inextricably intertwined elements in the analysis of Asian American experiences and advocacy for Asian American communities" and asserts that "stories inform theory and practice, theory guides practice, and practice can excavate stories and utilize theory for positive transformative purposes" (Museus, 2014, p. 27). The tenet of *commitment to social justice* draws directly from CRT and its primary purpose of advocating for the end of all forms of oppression.

The data analysis revealed that the elementary teachers' individual experiences influenced their citizenship praxis in three ways. First, as Elyse, Virginia and Krishnan embarked upon this ambitious work (Grant, 2003), they often referenced their own experiences with culture, language, and immigration to help their students understand the term *Asian American*, which their students initially understood as foreign and *not* American. Second, the teachers interrogated the term *American*, and over the course of multiple lessons their students demonstrated a broader understanding of who was considered "American." Third, the teachers emphasized notions of cultural citizenship in their teaching of Asian American history.

(RE)DEFINING ASIAN AMERICAN

The American *citizen* has historically been defined in contrast to the Asian *immigrant* (Lowe, 1996), from the earliest renderings of Asians as exotic barbarians (Said, 1978) and the threatening "yellow peril" (Takaki, 1990) to contemporary perceptions of Asian Americans as perpetual or forever foreigners regardless of how many generations their families have lived in the U.S. (Tuan, 1998). However, Asian American refers not to a static category but a social construction created for strategic political purposes (Lowe, 1996; Maeda, 2012; Museus, 2014) to describe people of Asian descent living in the United States, whether it be for five years or five generations. In spite of the extraordinary diversity of Asian America, pan-Asian unity can be a tool for Asian American agency and empowerment as long as it is used concomitantly with disruptions of Asian Americans as a singular and essentialized monolith and histories of shared Asian American struggles against racism and oppression (Espiritu, 1992).

To support their students' understanding of what it meant to be Asian American, the teachers in this study frequently used themselves as examples. Elyse summarized how she revealed her Vietnamese identity with her students at the start of each school year:

> The first day of school, I'm like, "I'm from Vietnam. These are my pictures from when I was in Vietnam. Vietnam is here. It is not China. China's here." You know? I have to let them know everything. "Don't call me Chinese"... all that stuff. (interview, 1/15/16)

In this sense, Elyse recognized her young students' tendency to misunderstand all things Asian as Chinese and therefore was verbally and visually explicit about the distinction between China and Vietnam. By establishing China and Vietnam as separate countries with unique cultures, languages, and traditions, she disrupted student perceptions of Asia

as a monolithic culture and instead began to foment understandings of inter-group difference within Asian America.

Virginia and Krishnan also described giving similar introductory explanations about their ethnoracial identity with each new group of students, and continued to address essentialization, stereotypes and misconceptions related to their Asian heritage throughout the school year. In spite of their different ethnic heritages, the three teachers' lived experiences revealed an intimate understanding of the attachment of foreignness to Asian American bodies and practices (Chang, 1999), and subsequently they actively worked to disrupt such misperceptions with their students. "They assume everything I bring (for lunch) is Chinese food," Virginia recalled with amusement. "Is that Chinese food?" "No, it's spaghetti!" (interview, 2/28/16). The teachers recognized that their students frequently conflated Asian with all things Chinese and/or Japanese, and used such moments as opportunities to dispel stereotypes of Asians and Asian Americans.

The teachers' Asian American identities were not always part of planned daily instruction in the classroom, but sometimes emerged unexpectedly in student conversations and provided serendipitous opportunities for discussion. For example, Virginia reflected on a lively argument that arose during one lesson when she shared a photo collection of Japanese Americans during World War II. Her students argued about the "race" of the individuals pictured:

> "They're White! No, they're Black! No, they're White!" (my students) were confused about whether or not they thought Japanese Americans were Black or White. And I'm like, "Well, they're not really either." And then I think (my students) were kind of like, "What about Ms. Ye? She seems like she could be Japanese American." They made some kind of comment... and I was like, "No, I'm *Chinese* American," and they were like, "Hmm, interesting." And then (they

> were) starting to remember that Chinese American and Japanese American *aren't* the same thing. (interview, 2/28/16, emphasis in original)

During a lesson many weeks later, Virginia reiterated this distinction. "I am Chinese American. I was born in Houston, Texas... my parents are Chinese, my grandparents are Chinese, we are *all* Chinese. I'm *also* American. So I'm Chinese *and* American" (classroom observation, 5/11/16). Virginia's continued need to clarify the distinction between Asian countries indicated her young students' struggles to fully understand Asian Americans; as the only Asian American teacher at a large campus that was predominantly Latinx and African American, she was often the only Asian American teacher (and in some instances, the only Asian American individual) that her students encountered in their academic careers. Therefore she was explicit in situating herself as an example of an Asian American citizen who was both Chinese *and* American.

The teachers' pedagogical approaches to the overt nuances of Asian American identity, culture, and racial positioning were founded in their own lived experiences as Others in society and schooling spaces. Volpp (2001) argues that identity is a citizenship discourse which is often denied to Asian Americans; regardless of their legal status, Asian Americans are generally not fully considered citizens in terms of politics and American national identity. Matsuda (1996) adds, "The idea that Asian Americans are not really Americans is the reason our history and literature are not considered worthy of study, why our accents and languages are considered threats to the American way" (p. 166). As the teachers introduced Asian American, Japanese American, and other such terms to their students, they confronted misperceptions and stereotypes pervasive in U.S. society and the media that situate Asian Americans as foreign, unassimilable Others

while broadening examples of civic identity and membership. Furthermore, as race is typically only presented to children through a Black/White binary (see Bolgatz, 2005; Salinas, Fránquiz & Naseem Rodríguez, 2016), the teachers' work signaled an important shift in students' understandings of race in America.

(Re)Defining What it Means to Be an American

The United States' history of citizenship has long been racialized, gendered, and classed (Jen, 2011; Lowe, 1996; Roediger, 1999; Rosaldo, 1994; Smith, 1997). Discrepancies in who is, and who is not, considered a part of the citizenry continue to challenge many people living in the U.S. (and other societies) today. As the children of Asian immigrants and refugees, the teachers in this study experienced Otherness in their own schooling, feeling neither fully American nor fully Asian. Elyse recounted going through a silent period after arriving in elementary school from Germany as well as difficulty understanding English slang until she was in college (interview, 1/13/16). Krishnan described being the target of racial epithets like "towelhead" when he was middle school (interview, 1/12/16) while Virginia shared distinct memories of shame and embarrassment about the Chinese lunches her mother packed for her to eat at school (interview, 2/28/16). Unfortunately, these types of experiences of linguistic, racist, and cultural discrimination and oppression are all too common to those who grow up Asian in America (Goodwin, 2003).

In his fifth grade graduation speech, Krishnan told his students, "I had to grow up between cultures" (personal communication, 6/10/16). Similarly, Elyse described how she felt "in-between, like I'm too White to hang out with these Vietnamese people but I'm

too Asian to hang out with these White people... I was in the middle... at a very young age, I felt caught between the two worlds" (interview, 6/10/16). Similar to Anzaldúa's (1987) notion of the borderlands "wherever two or more cultures edge each other" (p. i), the "in-betweenness" explained by Krishnan and Elyse is a hybridity common to the Asian American experience as Asian Americans are often perceived as unassimilable perpetual foreigners, regardless of how many generations they have lived in the U.S. or how perfect their English may be (Chang, 1999; Liu, 1998; Museus, 2014; Tuan, 1998).

As the teachers taught social studies to their young students, their hybrid experiences being racially "in-between" informed their pedagogy. In his concluding lesson on Japanese American incarceration, Krishnan asked his students to write a response to the question, "What does it mean to be an American?" (classroom observation, 5/26/16). His students' responses varied considerably; some clung to the notion that "being American means being born in America" or possessing legal citizenship, while others described "being American" as a self-described identity (student artifacts, 5/26/16). When asked what influenced the teaching of this lesson, Krishnan answered, "It comes from having to carry so many torches. You're the voice of so many minority voices that aren't going to be heard or their perspectives are not going to be given in schools if it doesn't come through me" (interview, 6/10/16). Krishnan considered himself responsible for exposing his students to more than was offered in the standard curriculum, and as a Spanish dual language educator and immigrant of Asian descent, Krishnan deliberately created instructional spaces to discuss "Other" narratives and present perspectives beyond the white mainstream.

The construct of "being an American citizen" also arose in Virginia's class when she used the picture book *The Bracelet* (Uchida, 1996; see Table 8) to teach her second graders about Japanese American incarceration during World War II. In one illustration, a sign stating "I am an American" prompted the following discussion:

> **José:** I think that they wanted to put up the sign to know that they're Americans because (other people) thought that they was Japanese, but they are actually Americans cause they were born in America.
>
> **Virginia:** So they were trying to prove to people that, "Hey, I am an American, too! Just because I don't look the way that you think I should, the way that other people look like, I still feel like I'm an American. I *am* an American."
>
> **MJ:** Oh, like I'm Black?
>
> **Virginia:** You want to say more about that, MJ?
>
> **MJ:** Because the Black people, they come from America, and they're getting treated differently.
>
> **Anna:** They're not just like Japanese because they're not just Japanese, they're American and because they were born in America. (classroom observation, 2/23/16)

While Virginia's second grade students only recently learned the term "Japanese American," they articulated emerging understandings of Asian Americans as *American* (citizens) and were able to make connections between Japanese Americans and African Americans (and later Mexican Americans) as groups of people who looked "different" but were still American. Additionally, they intuitively recognized Whiteness as the default construction of who is an American citizen (Harris, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 2004).

Interestingly, the day following the above conversation, Virginia's students described a white character in *The Bracelet* as "regular" and the Japanese American character as "different" (classroom observation, 2/24/16); as they were reconsidering their

understandings of what it meant for someone to be American, they still implicitly understood Whiteness as the norm in U.S. society and thus equated Whiteness with Americanness, and in turn, citizenship. Virginia pressed her students to reconsider their proposal of what is "regular," asking, "Does that mean all of us are *not* regular?" It is important to reiterate that Virginia's entire class was composed of students of color, yet the equation of Whiteness with what was perceived as normal was firmly embedded in her students. Her second graders recognized Whiteness as "the 'natural' state of affairs" and therefore "to be nonwhite is to be non-American" (Hurtado & Stewart, 1997, p. 323), despite the fact that such a construction placed themselves, as well as the characters in *The Bracelet*, on the margins. Consequently, Virginia consistently interrogated student comments that equated citizenship to Whiteness in an effort to deconstruct this notion.

Tensions about what it means to "be American" continue to pervade society as people of every age struggle to define what "makes" someone an American. While youth of color may already be civically engaged in home and community spaces (Knight, 2011; Salinas, Vickery & Fránquiz, 2016), schools are an ideal site to nurture broader understandings of citizenship (Parker, 2003). In response to Asian Americans finding themselves "in between," Goodwin (2003) urges, "We need to embrace the in between, take ownership of where we are. We need to reinvent ourselves, define ourselves as free-standing as opposed to in comparison or by default. We need to find space to resist" (p. 22). The three teachers in this study created such a space of resistance by drawing on their hybrid experiences "in-between" Asian and American culture as they pushed their elementary students to consider the complexity of racial and civic identity in the U.S. and

to disentangle notions of citizenship from dominant and normative Whiteness discourses. If the goal of citizenship education is truly to prepare a diverse society to realize democratic ideals through political participation (Gutmann, 1999; Parker, 2003), such conversations about shared and diverse modes of citizenship are vitally important and, as evidenced here, can begin well before high school.

PROMOTING CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

Rather than abide by traditional civic republican or political liberal conceptions of citizenship (see Abowitz & Harnish, 2006), the Asian American elementary teachers instead highlighted more inclusive, critical notions of cultural citizenship as they taught Asian American histories. In classroom settings, cultural citizenship can be exhibited in multiple ways. First, cultural citizenship views difference as a resource, not a threat (Flores & Benmayor, 1997). Second, cultural citizenship emphasizes the dynamic nature of citizen construction (Rosaldo & Flores, 1997; Salinas, Vickery, & Fránquiz, 2016). Third, cultural citizenship includes the voices, experiences, and perspectives of students of color (Banks, 2001; Rosaldo, 1997; Urrieta, 2004). Fourth, cultural citizenship "speaks a language of rights and agency" (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006, p. 670), affirming that one does not and should not have to choose between belonging to one's cultural community and belonging to the nation (Silvestrini, 1997).

Presenting Difference as a Resource

Cultural difference is traditionally seen as a threat to the integrity of the nation-state as it defies assimilation into the dominant culture (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Kymlicka, 1995). Rosaldo (1994) argues that cultural citizenship is "the right to be

different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense... even when such differences... potentially could be used to make certain people less equal or inferior to others" (p. 402). The teachers in the study were very deliberate in emphasizing culturally *and* linguistically diverse groups in the teaching of social studies. "I want (my students) to appreciate and have empathy for people who are different; understanding that different isn't bad, that different is actually something that's really good, and that we all have differences," Virginia explained (interview, 3/18/16). Elyse echoed these sentiments as an emphasis on both cultural and linguistic diversity was an essential part of her praxis as well as an important means to recognize societal norms (e.g., her use of *Inside Out and Back Again* in Chapter 5). Barton and Levstik (2009) define historical empathy as a two-fold endeavor that requires caring about those whose ideas differ from our own as well as recognizing their historical perspectives; as Virginia and Elyse facilitated discussions of difference with their students, they engaged in the development of historical empathy toward the Other as a step toward broader understandings of diverse civic membership.

Sometimes the teachers drew on their own experiences as the Other to foster student empathy regarding difference. One day, when some of Virginia's students mocked the pronunciation of a Japanese phrase, she admonished them:

> If you're purposely putting a bunch of words together and saying that that's part of a language, that's pretty much like making fun of another language. I'm gonna tell you right now - when I was little and people would find out that I was Chinese, they would just say a bunch of random words to me that didn't make sense, they weren't even real Chinese words, and that was very hurtful because my language is important to me... So can we try to say (the Japanese phrase) correctly? That's us trying to learn to say words correctly. Same with Spanish, when I'm trying to learn Spanish, I'm going to try my best to say it correctly. So we can be respectful. (classroom observation, 5/26/16)

Virginia addressed the issue of English hegemony (Shannon, 1995) that many Asian Americans experience in contemporary American society, and used the language spoken at home by many of her Latinx students as an example to which they could directly relate. Her bilingual comparison between Asian American and Latinx panethnicities established shared struggles in a society that values English above all other languages, and in turn associates unaccented English fluency with citizenship. In this example, Virginia tried to raise her students' consciousness about language status and power, thereby engaging in humanizing pedagogy as her instructional efforts "coincide[d] with the students to engage in critical thinking and the quest for mutual humanization" (Freire, 1970/1982, p. 62). Cultural citizenship interrogates the different regimes of power in civil society, including the ways individuals are positioned based on their cultural and linguistic capital (Kang, 2010; Ong, 1996)

In the same vein, Krishnan and Elyse also recounted sharing stories of their own struggles learning English in their classrooms. Because all three teachers were bi/multilinguals themselves, they were especially attentive to establishing the significance of language in the scope of civic identity and civic membership addressed in class. Rosaldo and Flores (1997) emphasize the role of uniform (English) monoglot in the construction of U.S. citizens, stating, "In ideological terms, the nation-state thus denies the very existence of polyglot citizens" (p. 82). The teachers established that many citizens speak languages other than English, thus highlighting the role of language difference in identity and citizen construction and affirming that speaking English is not part and parcel of U.S. citizenship.

Recognizing Citizen Construction as Dynamic

Rosaldo (1997) maintains that respect is a defining demand of cultural citizenship, which is an ongoing, contested, and urgent process. Elyse and Krishnan were purposeful in addressing the role of (dis)respect and dehumanization in their lessons on Japanese American incarceration during World War II. During her read aloud of *The Bracelet,* Elyse paused during a scene when the Japanese American family arrives in their new "apartment" at the Tanforan Assembly center: "a dark, dirty horse stall that still smelled of horses. And the linoleum laid over the dirt was littered with wood shavings, nails, dust, and dead bugs" (Uchida, 1996). She asked her students how they would feel if they were in a similar situation, emphasizing the dehumanizing conditions of the horse stable as well as the unfairness of the family's removal from their home due to their ethnicity (classroom observation, 2/24/16). Krishnan also urged his students to consider the perspectives of Japanese American children who found themselves the target of racial slurs and epithets after the bombing of Pearl Harbor (5/23/16).

At the heart of these discussions was the importance of basic human decency. Elyse and Krishnan chose particular moments in their lessons to highlight the injustices and lack of dignity faced by young Japanese Americans during World War II who were born in the United States yet treated in unequal and degrading ways simply because they looked like the enemy. The teachers' decisions to highlight dehumanizing moments when American citizens were treated as non-citizen Others were critical to the development of the notion of citizenship as an ongoing process rather than a fixed state of being. In particular, these conversations explored the limits of civic participation - although the

Japanese American children highlighted in class were indeed U.S. citizens, the government was directly responsible for denying their fundamental civil rights.

Krishnan and Elyse also dedicated multiple days of instruction to teaching about Asian American immigration (see Table 7), and the Asian American immigrants presented in Krishnan and Elyse's lessons often fought for the respect of their non-Asian peers and teachers. It is important to note that both of these teachers are considered "1.5 generation" immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Krishnan arrived in the U.S. from Kenya at the age of two and Elyse arrived at the age of five after spending her kindergarten year in Germany, and neither teacher knew English when they arrived in America. Undoubtedly, the teachers themselves embodied many of the challenges described by the Asian protagonists in their immigration book selections, such as struggling with a new language, culture, traditions, and civic identity. Thus the act of revealing themselves as immigrants *and* citizens was significant in disrupting normative depictions of White, native English-speaking citizens.

The children's literature used by Elyse and Krishnan (see Table 10) demonstrated the Asian immigrants' acculturation to life in America and included multiple instances in which the characters felt ashamed of their names, native language, and culture -- themes common to the immigrant story regardless of country of origin (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). These depictions echo Rosaldo and Flores' (1997) definition of cultural citizenship as "a process that involves claiming membership in, and remaking, America" (p. 58), even when one does not feel a sense of belonging and civic membership in the negotiated interactions of school and the community. As Asian Americans and other groups demand

the full enfranchisement afforded to citizens of the dominant group, the process of cultural citizenship is dynamic, neither fixed nor guaranteed. Through the presentation of both Asian American citizens and Asians who recently immigrated to the U.S., the teachers situated the claiming of civic membership as an ongoing, humanizing struggle for respect and dignity that was sometimes necessary regardless of birthright.

Including the Voices, Experiences, and Perspectives of Students of Color

Rosaldo (1997) criticizes researchers "in the vantage point of the dominant social group" who study marginalized groups "as a 'problem' rather than as people with agency--with goals, perceptions, and purposes of their own" (p. 37). In purposeful contrast to the propertied white subject who possesses dominant and unquestioned civic agency, cultural citizenship is founded in the experiences and perspectives of those who are marginalized, giving voice to the traditionally voiceless (Rosaldo, 1997). In their lessons about Asian American history, all three teachers intentionally selected children's literature narrated by Asian American children (see Table 10). Primary sources shared by Krishnan and Virginia often featured Asian American children, and Elyse brought in family artifacts to support her reading of *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011), a book about a Vietnamese refugee family whose journey to the U.S. was similar to her parents' experience. These explicit examples of Asian American civic identity and civic agency reiterated the teachers' efforts to contest the normalization of citizenship with Whiteness.

As she read *Inside Out and Back Again* to her students, Elyse discovered that the book initiated cultural connections with her East Asian students, who would often interject to describe how the story's events were similar to their cultures. Elyse's centering

of an Asian immigrant narrative produced a space for her students to incorporate their own families' stories, both positive and negative. For instance, during a scene where the Vietnamese mother struggled to communicate with a butcher in English, a child whose mother was from Spain commented, "When my mom came here, she had an accent and people thought she was dumb." In an interview conducted after she completed the book with her students, Elyse noted, "I think that the quieter kids like Sofia connect in the sense that they empathize with being different or the cultural struggles, but just aren't ready to talk about it and share and have the attention on them" (3/16/16). *Inside Out and Back Again* offered a complex representation of civic membership and identity with which students could commiserate in various ways. Furthermore, the use of a book depicting an immigrant family's struggle to acculturate to life in American society coupled with Elyse's descriptions of her own family's journey to the United States created multiple moments for her students to openly share their unofficial histories (Wertsch, 2000) and experiences related to culture, discrimination, acceptance, and civicness.

Cultural citizenship highlights how communities of color often strive for full recognition in U.S. society while they simultaneously challenge the requirements for recognition. The Asian American voices, experiences, and perspectives selected by the teachers in this study were not "'rewritten' to appeal to the larger culture, making sure that the unfamiliar becomes familiar" (Young, 2004, p. 28). In contrast, they were significant in their advancement of views from the margins (Ching & Pataray-Ching, 2003), not about "becoming American" but "the transformation from cultural Other into legitimate American subjects" (Young, 2004, p. 29). Young (2004) describes such acts as a

discursive process of cultural citizenship that intervenes into existing discourses of power, both acknowledging and rewriting the American story.

Speaking the Language of Rights and Agency

Cultural citizenship also focuses on aspirations for enfranchisement (Rosaldo, 1997). Using cultural citizenship to exhibit social justice and activism was especially important to Virginia and Krishnan. During one of her social studies lessons, Virginia's Latinx and African American students began to discuss the presidential candidates and expressed their concerns about a candidate who made disparaging remarks about Mexicans. When a student commented that she could not make a difference because she was a kid, Virginia described ways in which the student *did* have agency:

> You might not be able to go to the voting booth and vote, but you can use your words. You can make posters, you can make signs, you can write notes, you can write letters - those are all things that you *can* do... What I want you to realize is that you have a voice and you can say something about all of these things that you see are unfair. (classroom observation, 2/24/16, emphasis in original)

Virginia was unequivocal in her determination to give her students agency: "Ordinary people can do things that make a difference for the world. I want (my students) to leave knowing that they're capable of doing that" (interview, 3/18/16). The children's literature and historical narratives that Virginia and her students engaged with over the course of the semester provided a range of representations of civic identity and civic agency. Her students ended the school year by recording group podcasts that reflected their emerging consciousness through self-constructed narratives that discarded dominant narratives and official histories by centering the agency and resistance of communities of color (student artifacts, 5/24-26, 5/31)

While Krishnan's teacher-centered instructional style did not provide comparable opportunities for his students to exhibit agency in their reconstruction of historical narratives, he offered a social justice perspective of teaching that considered his inclusion of Asian American history through this research project to be an important first step:

> We need to teach about voices that have been dismissed. We need to teach about privilege. We need to teach about great inequalities that have existed and continue to exist and try to dismantle them, think critically about why they've happened and think about how we as individual human beings can be agents of change... it's very complicated, but it's basically aligning yourself with underrepresented voices. (interview, 6/10/16)

While he viewed such teaching as complicated and something he wanted to improve upon in the future, he also acknowledged that "the kids are ready for it... a critical voice *can* be developed that early" (interview, 6/10/16, emphasis in original). Like many teachers of color, Krishnan was aware of the injustices that permeate U.S. society and wanted to serve as an agent of change (Branch, 2004; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Salinas & Castro, 2010), stating that his students were willing and able to embark upon such critical work (interview, 6/10/16). However, he was still in the process of negotiating his desires to teach for social justice with the administrative and social pressures of producing high test scores through more traditional instructional approaches.

By the end of the school year, Krishnan recognized that teaching Asian American history pushed him away from conventional pedagogy and official curriculum by forcing him to connect his own story as an immigrant to what he taught in the classroom. During his fifth graders' graduation (in the midst of the 2016 Presidential Election and candidate

proposals for a border wall between the U.S. and Mexico), he addressed his students and their parents in Spanish, which he later described in translation:

> You may hear people in politics say that walls need to be divided between countries, but you can be even more powerful than that. You can be a bridge, and a bridge - you can build the highest wall you want, but a bridge can always cross that. (interview, 6/10/16)

Krishnan's speech was unapologetically grounded in cultural citizenship demands for enfranchisement and drew from his own transnational experiences in multiple immigrant communities. He urged his students to ignore divisive rhetoric and to maintain their bilingualism and biculturalism as a source of power and change, establishing both their right to be who they were without apology and their agency as individuals (Fránquiz & Salazar, 2004; Halagao, 2010). Furthermore, his exclusive use of Spanish directed his message to the Latinx population of his elementary campus that was often marginalized and left without access to Spanish language content. By refusing to translate his words into English at the graduation ceremony, Krishnan resisted the hegemony of English and upheld linguistic diversity as an essential aspect of civic identity and expression.

The study participants' approaches to cultural citizenship in their lessons on Asian American history exemplified how educators can challenge exclusionary and restrictive representations of citizenship and promote views of civic identity, membership, and agency that are more inclusive of American diversity. While this particular group of Asian American elementary teachers drew heavily from their own experiences being Othered in school and society, their efforts to view difference as a resource, to emphasize the dynamic nature of citizen construction, to include the voices, experiences, and perspectives of students of color, and to position students as having rights and agency are

important aspects of broader understandings of citizenship that all elementary educators can enact.

DISCUSSION

This chapter heeds Abu El-Haj's (2007) call for educators "to shift our conceptual frameworks for citizenship education in schools in ways that engage questions of identity and inequality, and that educate youth for social change" (p. 309) by examining how three Asian American elementary educators broadened their students' understandings of citizenship by (re)defining the terms Asian American and American and through an emphasis on cultural citizenship as they taught lessons about Asian American history. Lowe (1996) argues that "marginalized groups, those barred from national culture, produce alternative cultural sites to negotiate their own sense of national identities and to effect social change" (pp. 171-172). The themes discussed in this chapter demonstrate how teachers who are conscious of such marginalization can produce examples of citizenship and civic agency in their classrooms that broaden and nuance the limited and exclusionary models of national identification and citizenship that pervade the official curriculum of schools. Two findings emerged in response to the research question, How do Asian American elementary educators broaden their students' understandings of citizenship? First, the teachers made curricular and instructional decisions to present their students with representations of citizen that countered the mainstream images that permeate traditional curriculum. Second, the teachers embodied the AsianCrit tenet of *story, theory, and praxis* as their personal experiences informed their pedagogy, and in particular their understandings of cultural citizenship.

(Re)Visioning Citizens: Curricular Decision-Making & Critical Historical Inquiry

The teachers' curricular and pedagogical choices in the teaching of Asian American histories drew from their own lived experiences to disrupt stereotypes and misperceptions while nuancing and countering the dominant civic narrative. They utilized children's literature and primary sources to create Asian American historical narratives that revealed racism and discrimination as well as agency and broader representations of what it meant to be an American (citizen). As the educators shared stories and images of diverse individuals, they presented to their students multiple portraits of *who* is citizen, *what* citizens do, and *how* one can be citizen/American. During these lessons, many of the conversations about race and who is citizen/American were organic, erupting from students' comments and questions about the images they saw and texts they read. The teachers' decisions to explore students' interests and interrogate their misconceptions led to a richer enactment of Asian American history as instruction was tailored (often on an impromptu basis) to build on students' comments, connections, and worldviews, affirming the AsianCrit notion that "practice can excavate stories" and "stories inform theory and practice" (Museus, 2014, p. 27).

Lowe (1996) proposes that culture is the means by which "the subject becomes, act, and speaks itself as 'American.' It is likewise in culture that individuals and collectivities struggle and remember and, in that difficult remembering, imagine and practice both subject and community differently" (p. 3). Through the use of critical historical inquiry, children encounter and critically examine *other* histories in primary sources and picture books with diverse actors. Traditional historical inquiry engages primary source evidence and interpretive processes to construct historical conclusions; in

contrast, critical historical inquiry emphasizes perspective-taking that complicates, nuances, or runs contrary to the dominant narrative of history through an emphasis on race, class, gender, and other aspects of identity faced by marginalized communities (Salinas, Blevins & Sullivan, 2012; Salinas, Fránquiz & Naseem Rodríguez, 2016).

Teachers can use Asian American children's literature as the primary tool to disrupt exclusionary official narratives and dominant notions of white citizenship, supplementing historical fiction with primary source photos, letters, and media to provide additional historical context. Importantly, critical historical inquiry also emphasizes the agency of marginalized communities (Salinas, Fránquiz & Naseem Rodríguez, 2016) and their civic identities, agency, and membership, an aspect that was heavily endorsed by the elementary educators as they broadened student understandings of citizenship beyond the simplistic notions that are traditionally taught in school. When used through the lens of critical historical inquiry, children's literature can be an important site through which children can merge their existing understandings of the world around them with the new ideas, situations, and stories that they encounter to think critically about the multiple meanings of citizen in U.S. society.

Counterstorytelling as Praxis: Developing Cultural Citizenship Education

The AsianCrit tenet of *story, theory, and praxis* draws from critical race theory scholars such as Bell (1992), Delgado (2013), and Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) who emphasized the importance of counternarratives/counterstories. Solorzano and Yosso (2002) define counterstory as "a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society). The counterstory is

also a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege" and "can help strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance" (p. 32). Given the invisibility of Asian Americans in schools, counterstories are important tools that can disrupt the dominant curriculum and White normative conceptualizations of citizenship.

Teachers of color may use counterstories from their own lives as well as primary sources and Asian American narratives to nurture understanding of the Asian American experience, historically and contemporarily. This combination of perspectives can deliberately dislodge majoritarian tales through the development of counterstories, which are essential in exposing, analyzing, and challenging the raced and gendered norms of citizenship that dominate educational curriculum (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Through counterstories, students of color see themselves reflected in the political process in all of its forms - as civic members *and* as civic agents - in order to fully develop civic identity. The inclusion of counterstories, particularly those told by people of color, "can contribute to the knowledge base of those often pushed to the margins in education" (Milner & Howard, 2013, p. 542) while exposing members of the majority group to perspectives beyond their own worldview. In the realm of citizenship education, counternarratives play a vital role in challenging, disrupting, and/or counteracting the multiple conditions and realities of oppression found in both schools and society (Vinson, 2006).

The teachers' instructional approaches thus resulted in the culmination of *story, theory, and praxis*, which "underscores the notion that counterstories, theoretical work, and practice are important inextricably intertwined elements in the analysis of Asian

American experiences and advocacy for Asian American people and communities" (Museus, 2014, p. 27). As they made the histories of Asian Americans both visible and multidimensional, the teachers addressed the final tenet of AsianCrit, *a commitment to social justice*, by participating in the larger project of anti-racist and anti-oppressive education. As legal scholar Frank Wu (2002) describes,

> The messenger is the message. I try to demonstrate that... someone with an Asian face cares about the crises of the day and might even be able to respond fluently to them. Asian Americans can show their solidarity with other people of color... I can also reveal an aspect of the issues that involves Asian Americans but that affects others as well. Asian American examples are distinctive but familiar. (p. 38)

The teachers' intimate personal experiences with discrimination, immigration, biculturalism, bilingualism, and transnationalism cultivated an epistemology of race and contested belonging in America that white, native-born and monolingual teachers may not be aware of or be able to fully articulate as outsiders to such experiences.

For Asian Americans who exist in "the racial middle" (O'Brien, 2008), "citizenship status does not provide full and complete membership in the American polity… and perceptions of their belonging are moderated by the history of exclusion and the prevalence of racial stereotypes about them" (Masuoka & Junn, 2013, p. 61). If educators with critical pedagogical perspectives truly seek to "transform those classroom structures and practices that perpetuate undemocratic life" (Darder, Baltodano & Torres, 2003, p. 11), the introduction of Asian American and other marginalized histories, as well as conceptualizations of cultural citizenship, can create "intellectual and social spaces where power relationships are reconstructed to make central the voices and experiences of those who have historically existed within the margins of mainstream institutions"

(Darder et al., 2003, p. 14) and in the dominant narratives of history. Cultural citizenship education offers hope for schools to truly prepare *all* students to participate in America's democracy.

CONCLUSION

The civic participation taught in traditional citizenship education models fails to address issues of responsibility and tolerance (Kymlicka, 2001) and often results in an assimilationist pluralism that appears inclusive through a false depiction of racial harmony (Ching, 2005; Gorden & Newfield, 1996; Vinson, 2006). In order to achieve the American ideals of a truly pluralistic democracy, elementary teachers must reshape citizenship education by providing their students with more culturally diverse representations of civic identity, membership, and agency. Matsuda (1996) urges us to "criticize racist images, and... demand images that show the full range of Asian-American humanity... speak up, act out, lead, and challenge until the world recognizes that an Asian face can mean many things" (p. 169). This chapter demonstrates how cultural citizenship can be an important tool in this effort.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Asian Americans are currently the fastest growing group in the United States (Taylor, 2012), yet are underrepresented in the teaching field (NCES, 2013, 2015a; Poon, 2014) and are nearly invisible in narratives of American history (An, 2016; Hartlep & Scott, 2016; Heilig, Brown, & Brown, 2012). Research and popular discourse about teachers and students of color also pays negligible attention to Asian Americans, focusing instead on African American and Latinx experiences. Therefore, this qualitative research project moves Asian American experiences from the margins to the center in an effort to no longer leave Asian Americans hidden in history.

The purpose of this study was to explore how Asian American teachers enacted Asian American histories in elementary classrooms. This study specifically focused on how such enactment was informed by their racialized, hybrid experiences and their understandings of citizenship. This study employed a conceptual framework centered on three major bodies of research: 1) Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit), which centers the racialized and often invisible experiences of Asian Americans in U.S. society (Chang, 1993; Museus, 2014); 2) the dominant narrative of U.S. history which marginalizes Asian Americans as well as many other groups (VanSledright, 2008); and 3) curricular enactment, which considers the multiple contexts and influences that impact teachers' decisions regarding instruction and curriculum (Ball & Cohen, 1996; Cornbleth, 1985). Given the data presented in chapters four, five, and six, the findings address the following research questions:

1) How do Asian American teachers enact Asian American history?

2) How do Asian American teachers enact Asian American history through the use of picture books?

3) How are Asian American teachers' pedagogical decisions influenced by their understandings of citizenship?

In response to these research questions, emergent themes were presented that explored the ways Elyse (a third grade, self-contained Vietnamese American teacher), Krishnan (a third- and fifth-grade language arts, science, and social studies dual language, Indian American teacher), and Virginia (a second grade, self-contained Chinese American teacher) enacted the teaching of Asian American histories in their respective classrooms.

The first themes, addressed in chapter four, "*Enacting Asian American History: Lessons (Un)Learned & (Re)Constructing Narratives*," responded to the research question, How do Asian American teachers enact Asian American history? Chapter four first examined the pedagogical stances held by the three teachers in regard to the teaching of history as well as how they (re)constructed the Asian American historical narrative. Although the teachers recounted learning history for the purpose of national identification (Barton & Levstik, 2009) as children, in their own practice they described teaching history to "learn lessons from the past" (VanSledright, 1997), an approach heavily critiqued by historians but very common in K-12 social studies classrooms. Second, the chapter detailed the teachers' enactment of historical narratives about Japanese American incarceration during World War II. During these lessons, the three elementary teachers struggled with content knowledge, confronted the dominant narrative in various ways,

evoked historical empathy to emphasize perspective-taking and caring, and made connections to contemporary issues and broader themes of injustice. The findings, consequently, indicated that the teachers made visible Asian American histories that are often hidden in the curriculum, confronted the complexity of race, and examined the enduring nature of racism, exemplifying the AsianCrit tenets of *Asianization* and *(re)constructive history* (Museus, 2014).

The second themes, addressed in chapter five, *"Children's Literature As Counterstory: Teaching Asian American History Through Picture Books*," responded to the research question, How do Asian American teachers enact Asian American history through the use of picture books? Chapter five highlighted the roles of historical context and ideology (Bartolomé, 1994) in the educators' use of Asian American children's literature. Ultimately, the findings revealed the teachers' enactment of Asian American histories through Asian American picture books demonstrated the complex nature of curricular integration (Bennett & Hinde, 2015), the possibility for Asian American picture books to serve as counterstories for critical historical inquiry, and revealed the hybridity of the Asian American experience (Ching & Pataray-Ching, 2003; Goodwin, 2003). As the teachers used Asian American children's literature in their classrooms, they emphasized the AsianCrit tenets of *transnational contexts* and *strategic (anti-) essentialism* (Museus, 2014) and illustrated the use of flexible strategies between literary themes of resistance and accommodation to racism against Asian Americans (Nguyen, 2002; Tuon, 2014).

The third theme, addressed in chapter six, "*'You can be a bridge': Broadening Student Understandings of Citizenship in Elementary Classrooms*," explored the research question, How are Asian American teachers' pedagogical decisions influenced by their understandings of citizenship? The teachers (re)defined the terms Asian American and American (citizen) and promoted the notion of cultural citizenship (Rosaldo, 1994) as they taught Asian American histories. The findings demonstrated how the teachers (re)visioned what it meant to be citizen and employed counterstorytelling as praxis. As the teachers broadened student understandings of citizenship and modeled cultural citizenship education, they embodied the AsianCrit tenets of *story, theory, and praxis* and *commitment to social justice* (Museus, 2014).

IMPLICATIONS

These three research questions, emerging themes, and findings in chapters four, five, and six illustrate the complexity of introducing Asian American historical narratives in elementary classrooms as well as the multiple embodiments of AsianCrit that emerged from the teachers' lived and racialized experiences. The preceding three chapters, their themes, and findings collectively inform three overarching implications of this study that lead to the study's recommendations. First, this study exemplified resistance to the dominant narrative by teachers of color in the social studies classroom through the use of Asian American primary sources and children's literature. Second, AsianCrit is a useful lens through which Asian American histories can be taught to elementary students. Third, the teachers' development of cultural citizenship education, as opposed to traditional citizenship education, was rooted in their lived hybrid experiences, illustrated the

importance of reconceptualizing civic education with elementary students. The remainder of this chapter will address each of these implications, followed by the recommendations and limitations of this study and directions for future research.

Resistance to the Dominant Narrative of History

The version of U.S. history that is taught to most children in American public schools centers on progressive nation-building and a pantheon of familiar heroes who are mostly Eurocentric men involved in the military, politics, or business (Levstik & Barton, 2011; VanSledright, 2008). While this dominant narrative has been critiqued for the last century, little has changed as the themes of freedom and American progress told from the perspective of those in power remain at the core of elementary social studies curriculum (Barton & Levstik, 2009). Communities of color are largely nonexistent in history textbooks and school curriculum (Au, Brown & Calderon, 2016); on those rare occasions when they are present, it is through marginal inclusion that does not modify the dominant historical narrative and depicts individuals or communities of color only as they are relevant to the actions or experiences of whites (Cornbleth, 1997), glossing over ethnoracial and labor conflicts and violence (VanSledright, 2008).

Wertsch (2000) analyzes the relationship between agents and dominant narratives through the notions of mastery, appropriation, and resistance. Mastery of the dominant narrative involves the cognitive ability to reproduce or employ it, while appropriation includes an emotional dimension as the dominant narrative becomes one's own. Resistance is the opposite of appropriation, comprising of the distancing of oneself from the dominant narrative. Hence one can both master *and* resist the dominant narrative.

This qualitative classroom study detailed two primary methods through which elementary educators can resist the dominant narrative of history and center the Asian American histories traditionally hidden in the curriculum. First, in the absence of Asian American narratives in textbooks, educators can utilize primary sources and media to share Asian American histories through their own voices and perspectives. Critical historical inquiry and thinking are pedagogical practices that use primary sources to guide students toward shifts in historical epistemology, considering issues of power and agency to recognize other perspectives (Salinas, Blevins, & Sullivan, 2012; Salinas, Fránquiz, & Naseem Rodríguez, 2016; VanSledright, 2002).

Second, the growing body of Asian American children's literature can offer Asian American counternarratives to young learners. In spite of critiques about a lack of diversity (Larrick, 1965; Bishop, 1992; Sims, 1982), children's literature has been hailed for its ability to engage students in critical thinking and multiple perspectives and can be a vehicle to advance children's understandings of race and power (Copenhaver-Johnson, Bowman, & Johnson, 2007). Just as historical novels for young adults can be "an effective tool for cultivating democratic citizenship in a modern, multicultural nation" (Schwebel, 2011, p. 33), Asian American children's literature can provide elementary students with historical counternarratives that present broader conceptualizations of civic membership, agency, and identity (Ching & Pataray-Ching, 2003).

However, the use of Asian American children's literature for the purpose of including Asian American narratives requires an important caveat: Asian American picture books must be read *critically* and with attention to *historical context.* Darder

(2012) insists that "educators must become more critical not only of the actual curriculum they bring into the classroom but also of the philosophical beliefs that inform their practice" (p. 286). Given the pervasiveness of stereotypes about Asian Americans (e.g. yellow peril, forever foreigner, model minority), teachers must first examine their own ideological underpinnings and any cultural and linguistic assumptions about Asian Americans. Next, teachers should identify any stereotypes and areas of concern within the picture books themselves, in both the written and visual text (e.g., emphasis on filiel piety and honor, exotification, illustrations with slanted eyes and bowl haircuts) (Aoki, 1981; Loh-Hagen, 2014; Roy, 2008; Yokota, 2009). Some books about marginalized groups are told from the perspective of the dominant culture, thereby reinforcing cultural and linguistic assimilation (Ghiso & Campano, 2013; Stephens & Lee, 2006; Yoo-Lee et al, 2014). Finally, Asian American children's literature used as counternarrative should include historical contextualization (Shemilt, 2000), particularly to avoid issues of presentism (Wineburg, 2001) that may result in students' return to familiar narratives of progress and nationalism (Schwebel, 2011).

Teaching Asian American Histories through AsianCrit

Museus (2014) recently introduced AsianCrit to the field of education two decades after Chang (1993) first proposed AsianCrit as an extension of CRT in legal studies. Museus' (2014) seven tenets of AsianCrit provide a useful theoretical framework through which educators can consider instructional and curricular possibilities for Asian American historical narratives. For example, the AsianCrit tenet of *(re)constructive history* forefronts the invisibility of Asian American historical narratives and advocates

for a transcendence of this invisibility and silence (Museus, 2014). Feminist scholar and former Minidoka War Relocation Center prisoner Mitsuye Yamada (1981) reflected, "To finally recognize our own invisibility is to finally be on the path toward visibility. Invisibility is not a natural state for anyone" (p. 40). As educators begin to (re)construct and make visible Asian American history with their students, it is essential to heed Takaki's (1998) reminder that Asian Americans "are entitled to be viewed as subjects - as men and women with minds, wills, and voices... as actors in the making of history" (pp. 7-8), not simply as passive victims (Kohl, 1994; Wills, 1996).

(Re)Constructive history also creates spaces for reciprocal histories, such as the 1903 Japanese-Mexican Labor Association strike in Oxnard, California (Lee, 2014) and influence of the Black Power movement on Asian American activism in the late 1960s and 1970s (Maeda, 2012). Cornbleth and Waugh (1995) define reciprocal histories as "the interactions and interconnections among diverse individuals and groups over time and in their social-environmental context" (p. 197), emphasizing how individuals and groups learn from and influence each other in dynamic, multicultural, and intersectional ways. Furthermore, the teaching of reciprocal histories provides a richer understanding of the context in which interactions occurred and makes visible social structures and institutional practices that segregate, discriminate, and unequally distribute power and resources in society (Wills, 2001).

The AsianCrit tenet of *Asianization* examines the distinct ways that Asian Americans are racialized in U.S. society, attending to representations of Asian Americans as a single monolith as well as pervasive historical and contemporary stereotypes (Hsu,

2015), such as the yellow peril (Takaki, 1990), forever foreigner (Tuan, 1998), and the model minority (Hartlep & Scott, 2016). Educators who attend to the complex diversity of Asian American historical narratives through the lens of Asianization can elicit more critical understandings of race, immigration, and power while also establishing reciprocal histories with other communities of color. Given the invisibility of Asian Americans in general conversations about race relations in the U.S. and in social studies curriculum in particular, it is important that teachers are purposeful in their understanding of "the specific cultural locations of groups and provide some avenues toward the creation of a moral solidarity for our present struggles" (Prashad, 2000, p. x).

Another AsianCrit tenet through which elementary educators can present Asian American historical narratives is intersectionality. Crenshaw (1989) developed the construct of intersectionality to demonstrate how racism intersects with other systems of oppression. In Asian American communities, traditional intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality also intersect with immigrant generation, immigrant status (e.g., refugee, green card holder, naturalized citizen, undocumented), language, religion, and many other aspects of identity. Due to immigration restrictions, the vast majority of early Asian immigrants to the U.S. were male manual laborers (Lee, 2015); this historical gender disparity resulted in mostly male, working class perspectives of the early Asian American experience (Takaki, 1998). Similarly, Asian American refugee narratives have become more common in recent decades due to the efforts of historians and community activists; however, established refugee groups such as first- and second-wave Vietnamese are more likely to record oral histories and publish memoirs (Lai, 2011; Susina, 1991)

than more recent arrivals like Burmese and Karen refugees. Consequently, it is important for educators to recognize the many intersections of the Asian American experience and to avoid essentializing notions by only focusing on dominant Asian American groups.

These three applications of AsianCrit tenets demonstrate how a nuanced understanding of Asian American experiences and histories can provide students and teachers with more authentic and critical representations of Asian America. It is important to recognize Asian American's unique racialized history on its own terms, through the voices and perspectives of Asian Americans, and to also examine how America's complicated racial hierarchy has impacted, and continues to impact, Asian American communities and their experiences in U.S. society in a multitude of ways (Lowe, 1996; Takaki, 1998).

Hybridity & Cultural Citizenship Education

Asian American teachers occupy a unique position in school spaces. They are underrepresented in the field (Boser, 2011; Poon, 2014; Rong & Preissle, 1997), rarely appear in scholarship about teachers of color (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012; Quiocho & Rios, 2000), and may be viewed as foreigners by students and colleagues (Endo, 2015; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Nguyen, 2008). However, Asian American teachers may demonstrate greater cultural and linguistic understanding with students and their parents (Goodwin et al., 1997; Pang, 2009; Ramanathan, 2006) and can serve as agents of change by developing more culturally relevant curriculum (Branch, 2004; Choi, 2013; Goodwin et al., 1997; Morita-Mullaney & Greene, 2015; Sheets & Chew, 2002). Moreover, "as a community, Asian Americans have been named and defined by others;

we have found ourselves in between, belonging neither to the majority nor minority" (Goodwin, 2003, p. 22). Asian Americans' positioning in "the racial middle" (O'Brien, 2008) results in a lived ambiguity; while the notion of hybridity forwarded by Bhabha (1994) has been contested and extended by many scholars, I consider it ideal in its description of the space "in-between" inhabited by the Asian American elementary teachers in this study, especially because it is rooted in diasporic histories and identities.

Goodwin (2003) argues that hybridity is well-suited to the complexity of identities to which Asian Americans answer, as it "allows them to know and examine themselves through many different eyes, and helps them to communicate in more ways than one. In essence, it allows them to embrace [their] multiple positionings and invent a space that is theirs alone" (p. 22). I argue that the hybrid identities and experiences held by the Asian American teachers in this study advanced pedagogies of cultural citizenship education. As individuals who benefit in different ways from "honorary Whiteness" (Tuan, 1998; Wu, 2002) while also being racialized in contradistinction to others, Asian Americans may experience second-class citizenship in certain spaces and places while experiencing "full" citizenship in others; for those who are the children of Asian immigrants, these moments and memories may be particularly acute.

However, these hybrid experiences in relationship to cultural citizenship education do not manifest in instructional and curricular choices in the same ways. Darder (2012) provides some insight to range of teachers' social justice positioning, ideological clarity (Bartolomé, 2008), and critical consciousness:

> very often people of color whose bicultural voices and experiences have been systematically silenced and negated are not necessarily conscious of the manner

> in which racism and classism have influenced their individual development, nor how they have functioned to distort perceptions of their cultural group within an Anglo-centric world. Therefore, the fact that a person is bicultural does not guarantee that she or he occupies a position of resistance to such domination" (p. 291)

Although resistance necessarily varies by context, I contend that the three Asian American educators in this study demonstrated uncommon yet essential models of cultural citizenship education that should be emulated in elementary classrooms.

As public schools serve increasingly diverse students[19], it is imperative that educators provide all children with more diverse examples of civic identity and civic agency. Levstik and Barton (2011) explain, "Students who do not see themselves as members of groups who had agency in the past or power in the present, who are invisible in history, lack viable models for the future" (p. 3). Moreover, such invisibility "limits all students' access to the full range of choices open to human beings across time and among places" (Levstik & Barton, 2011, p. 3). While this work is understandably important, Levinson (2012) reminds us that defining the limits of diverse citizenship in schools is especially tricky, as "those whose membership in the polity is being challenged are also often students and family members present within the school itself" (p. 99). For example, in 2017, public rancor feeds continued debates about whether Muslims, immigrants, and LGBT individuals should be able to enjoy full membership in American society; as individuals from these groups are certainly enrolled in public schools, elementary

[19] Drawing from Levinson (2012), student diversity encompasses many dimensions, including but not limited to language, culture, race, ethnicity, class, learning and other special needs, ability, motivation, family composition and background, gender, sexual identity, nationality, religion, political ideology, and citizenship status.

educators must reconceptualize their teaching of citizenship in consideration of such contested civic membership and identity.

Cultural citizenship education draws on existing scholarship in democratic citizenship education (Angell, 1991; Sunal, Kelley, Minear, & Sunal, 2011) and justice-oriented citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), which emphasize active community involvement and learning how to affect systemic change. Also influential is Giroux's (1991) construct of border pedagogy, which acknowledges the shifting borders "that both undermine and reterritorialize different configurations of culture, power and knowledge; it also links the notions of schooling and education to a more substantive struggle for a radical democratic society" (p. 51). Finally, critical race approaches to education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) are essential to cultural citizenship education as they critique traditional civic education from the intersections of race and social justice, noting that "many civic educators have ignored how race continues to shape the American story in ways that are expressly racist in our nation's schools and curriculum" (Tyson & Park, 2008, p. 37).

Cultural citizenship education, as enacted by the Asian American teachers in this study, is founded on the basic premise that the principle of equal citizenship is a fallacy. Due to the deeply embedded nature of white supremacy and racism in the United States, non-white and other marginalized groups (e.g., women, LGBT, non-Christians) are not necessarily guaranteed recognition of civic membership by the state and/or community (Ong, 1996). Instead, those who are located on the periphery must establish and assert their civic identities and agency in their own ways (Rosaldo, 1997; Rosaldo & Flores,

1997) rather than follow prescribed activities that are often promoted as patriotic (Tyson & Park, 2008; Westheimer, 2007) or "what good citizens do" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). With young children, this can begin with discussions about why some people are viewed as citizen and others are not, followed by counternarratives of contested civic identity and membership using the voices and experiences of diverse civic agents (e.g., Fred Korematsu, Septima Clark). Ultimately, Levinson (2012) suggests that schools should be "duty bound as a matter of law and ethics to support each one of their students... For a stable and democratic state to do anything else would be fundamentally to transgress against children's rights as vulnerable, developing human beings" (p. 104). Levinson's statement speaks to the importance of promoting cultural citizenship education to prepare *all* students for participation in our pluralist democracy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The themes and findings that addressed the study's research questions and these implications suggest recommendations for both social studies pedagogy and pre- and in-service elementary social studies educators. First, in regard to social studies pedagogy, elementary teachers must first be encouraged to critically utilize digital resources as well as picture books that can complicate and disrupt the dominant narrative of social studies in powerful ways. Citizenship education in elementary schools must go beyond simplistic patriotic and community-based acts and begin to tackle and address the difficult issues of pervasive inequity and injustice in the United States. Further, parents, teachers, administrators, and community members need to demand the return of daily social studies instruction. It is impossible to prepare a diverse citizenry for partipation in society

if teachers are not allowed time to explicitly to address the civic and historical skills needed to develop an engaged citizenry.

Second, in regard to pre- and in-service teachers of elementary social studies, several related recommendations emerged from this study. One must concede that the problematic Eurocentric narrative of American freedom and progress found in elementary curriculum also exists in secondary schooling, hence many pre- and in-service teachers of color do not possess substantive knowledge of non-dominant historical narratives. Furthermore, teacher education programs generally focus only on social studies methods rather than content; these programs must consider ways to support pre-service teachers to critically teach social studies while also providing resources for historical counternarratives. In addition, teachers *are* interested in engaging students with more diverse representations in U.S. history; however, they do not always have the time or access to counternarratives nor the content knowledge needed for historical contextualization. Schools and districts can team with museums, colleges, universities, and community organizations to develop critical social studies resources and ongoing professional development support.

Rethinking Social Studies Pedagogy and Citizenship Education

The Critical Use of Counternarratives in the Social Studies Curriculum

While elementary educators can critically use existing social studies curriculum to assess which voices and perspectives are missing, they must also seek out counternarratives. As this study demonstrated, a variety of Asian American counternarratives, from primary sources available online through the Library of Congress

and YouTube videos to Asian American children's literature. Many of the Asian American historical narratives listed in this study are readily accessible online or available at public libraries. Once teachers obtain these materials, however, they must be purposeful in their instruction to ensure the critical use of them as counternarratives.

In this study, I defined critical teaching as a pedagogical approach that questions the dynamics of race and power in U.S. society and within the historical narrative. Understood in this way, textbooks and other curricular materials that perpetuate the dominant narrative can certainly be analyzed critically as a launching pad for students to explore counternarratives that represent the voices and perspectives not present in the text. Solorzano and Yosso (2002) define counternarratives and counterstories as a method of telling the stories of marginalized groups and communities. Counternarratives can be a tool to expose, analyze, and challenge the dominant narrative while also demonstrating the civic agency and identity of those who are outside of the dominant group. When teachers adopt a critical stance in the teaching of histories, counternarratives can lead to transformative understandings of the past and present.

However, counterstories/narratives can be used in ways that appropriate the dominant narrative rather than resisting it. Teachers must be intentional in both using a critical lens (e.g., examining notions of racism, classism and sexism) as well as contextualizing history. For example, when using texts like *The Bracelet,* teachers can fail to address injustice or the historical context of historical fiction, and therefore not disrupt or resist the dominant narrative of injustice or racism. In contrast, teachers may center racism and discrimination in historical fiction and resist dominant narratives. *The*

Bracelet on its own is an Asian American narrative with transformative *potential*, but its use as a counternarrative is dependent on whether the historical narrative is centered and problematized by teachers *and* students.

Centering Injustice & Racism in Citizenship Education

The majority of pre- and in-service teachers hold a simplistic vision of citizenship that aligns with Westheimer and Kahne's "personally responsible" model of teaching students character traits and how to be a cooperative member of a community (Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Patterson, Doppen & Misco, 2012). Many of these future and current educators lack substantive critical content knowledge and hold shallow understandings of citizenship (Castro, 2013; Fry & O'Brien, 2015), suggesting a need for widespread development of civic multicultural competence (Miller-Lane, Howard, & Halagao, 2007). Civic multicultural competence is "the desire and ability to investigate diverse, problematic, and controversial issues in pursuit of a more inclusive, just, and equitable society... and by applying what is learned through authentic, self-motivated, and social justice-oriented acts" (Miller-Lane, Howard, & Halagao, 2007, p. 563). By emphasizing civic multicultural competence in teacher education and in-service professional development, teachers can begin to shift from "personally responsible" models to more critical social justice orientations of citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Some scholars have already documented the possibilities of such critical civic engagement in early childhood and elementary settings (Payne, Falkner, Adair, & Sachdeva, 2016; Mitra & Serriere, 2015), highlighting the possibilities of civic agency with young learners. Unfortunately, these practices are not yet commonplace and may

receive little attention in teacher preparation programs and citizenship education curriculum. Dedication to addressing issues of social injustice and inequity must be centered in elementary citizenship education curriculum, with particular attention to racism. Although young children recognize race and are unafraid to discuss such difficult histories (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001; Winkler, 2009), many elementary teachers still subscribe to color-blind ideologies (Stoll, 2014) and pedagogies of avoidance (Levstik, 2000). Teachers who insist that they "don't see color" often engage in color-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2010), therefore scholars have argued for the use of color-conscious pedagogies that recognize the presence of racism in everyday society and institutions (Milner, 2012; Ullucci & Battey, 2011). While color-conscious pedagogies are essential, the absence of color-conscious curriculum can be challenging for educators ready to embark upon this work. Thus, elementary educators must find ways (such using as the resources mentioned previously) to infuse anti-racism and justice into existing citizenship curriculum and advocate for the creation and implementation of social justice and cultural citizenship curriculum.

Demanding a Re-Commitment to Social Studies Education

My third and final recommendation for social studies pedagogy and citizenship education is a return to their rightful place in daily instruction. If schools truly aspire to prepare future citizens for democratic participation (Dewey, 1916), they must re-commit to including social studies as an essential part of daily learning and participation. The decline of elementary social studies instruction since the 2001 passage of NCLB to allow more instructional time for tested subjects has been well documented (Heafner &

Fitchett, 2012; Halvorsen, 2013; McMurrer, 2008; Passe, 2006; Russell, 2009; VanFossen, 2005; Vogler et al., 2007). In states where mandated social studies assessments are present in elementary grades, the social studies curriculum is largely textbook-driven for the purposes of test preparation rather than meaningful learning (Bisland, 2011; Vogler, 2011). Therefore, it is incumbent that students, parents, teachers, and community members advocate for a return to meaningful social studies and citizenship education that will ensure both basic civic understandings as well as opportunities for civic action.

Teacher Professional Development

Pre-Service Teachers: Learning Unofficial Histories

Elementary teachers' struggles with general critical historical content demonstrate the need for increased attention to social studies content knowledge, both in teacher education and in-service professional development. With a stronger foundation in American history that includes the perspectives of marginalized groups, educators can work more strategically to interrogate the dominant narrative and present students with opportunities to engage with histories and narratives that more accurately depict the true diversity of the United States. Although teachers know rich and complex histories, their opportunities to engage in these histories may have also been denied in their own K-12 schooling. Teachers themselves often demonstrate what Wertsch (2000) describes as "believing but not knowing" unofficial history. While they may be determined to (re)construct Asian American as well as other marginalized narratives, teachers may lack

significant critical content knowledge about Japanese American incarceration and other aspects of Asian American history.

For traditional teacher education programs, supporting pre-service teachers' historical content knowledge may be difficult as they often have little control over the content provided in required history and government coursework prior to students' entry in the teacher preparation program. Additionally, teacher preparation generally focuses on educational theory and pedagogical methods rather than subject area content, making the possibilities for programmatic changes (e.g., the addition of history coursework) challenging and unfeasible. With these challenges in mind, teacher educators can infuse historical examples of social (in)justice and agency into their methods classes that encourage critical approaches in the social studies. Within social studies methods courses, opportunities for pre-service teachers to engage in projects focused on critical historical inquiry and teaching difficult histories can provide spaces for learning that can later be applied in classrooms.

In-Service Teacher Professional Development Opportunities & Collaborations

Teachers are genuinely interested in engaging students with more diverse representations in U.S. history; however, they often do not have the time or access to develop counternarratives as content and historical inquiry as a pedagogical practice. As social studies professional development opportunities are rarely offered to in-service teachers (Passe, 2006; Zhao & Hoge, 2005), schools and districts can team with museums, colleges, universities, and community organizations to provide ongoing professional development support that furthers not only pedagogical content knowledge

but critical pedagogical content knowledge--one focused upon other perspectives and countering majoritarian tales.

Kiang (2004) provides one inspiring model of social studies collaboration between a university and school district. First, in recognition of the exclusion of Asian American content in K-12 curriculum, the Asian American Studies department at Kiang's institution produced an Asian American studies curriculum resource guide for K-12 teachers and students. Second, drawing from the content of the resource guide, the university created a year-long seminar on Asian American literature for K-12 teachers that was also available for graduate course credit. Twelve teachers from a range of ethnoracial backgrounds and gradel levels participated in the seminars, which involved lectures by Asian American scholars and writers, conversations about student issues, and discussions about "changing the canon" in their schools . Many comparable collaborations between ethnic studies departments and K-12 settings have occurred across the country and demonstrate how links between academia and public school teachers can result in transformative pedagogy and curriculum (Cammarota, 2016; de los Ríos, 2013; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2015).

For white teachers, professional development opportunities like those described above are especially important (Putnam & Borko, 2000). "To even begin to comprehend the bicultural experience requires that teachers from the dominant culture invest time and energy into establishing critical dialogues with people of color if they wish to understand their communities better," states Darder (2012, p. 290). She continues, "teachers must recognize and respect that their process of learning and knowing is inherently situated

outside that cultural context and is therefore different from the knowledge obtained from living *within* a particular cultural community" (pp. 290-291). As white, native-born monolingual teachers comprise the vast majority of classroom teachers (Boser, 2011), their participation in critical social studies professional development (and subsequent critical application of counternarratives) is vital to the development of more diverse, representative historical narratives in schools.

LIMITATIONS

No qualitative research study is perfectly designed. Four major limitations were encountered during this case study. The first limitation of the study was related to the collection of data in the spring semester, during which upper elementary students in Texas are subjected to multiple standardized tests during the months of March, April, and May. Krishnan and Elyse were unable to teach substantial Asian American history content in March, April, and the first weeks of May, and testing calendars completely prohibited my presence on any CCISD campus on certain dates regardless of the grade level I was observing. This resulted in a somewhat disjointed approach in their overall social studies instruction (Grant & Salinas, 2008) as well as fewer observed lessons with Elyse and Krishnan than with second grade teacher Virginia.

The second limitation was CCISD's single afternoon of Asian American history professional development. Kiang (2004) reiterates the importance of prolonged professional development rather than single "one-shot" workshops; however, due to the district and state testing calendars, there were no opportunities for additional professional development before or after February 2016. Ideally, the teachers would have more

workshops about other aspects of Asian American history. The CCISD workshop only addressed Chinese and Japanese American histories; these two groups are generally overrepresented in Asian American history as well as in K-12 school curriculum (An, 2016), so teachers would have benefitted from historical background and resources from other Asian American groups, such as Indian Americans, Hmong Americans and Korean Americans (Takaki, 1998).

A third limitation was the inability to continue studying the teachers after the 2015-2016 school year, as Virginia and Elyse resigned from CCISD to teach in other schools, and Krishnan left the classroom to become an instructional reading specialist. Additional study would provide greater insight into the teachers' instructional and curricular decision-making process coming from a position of experience, as well as how different student demographics might respond to Asian American historical narratives.

Fourth, this study was limited in its exploration of the three Asian American teachers' intersectionality, especially in regard to class, immigration, religion, gender, and sexuality (Park, Endo, & Goodwin, 2006; Park, Goodwin, & Lee, 2003). For example, Krishnan was the son of a doctor and attended private schools from elementary through college; in contrast, Elyse's parents were refugees and Virginia's parents were working class. Krishnan's family was Jain but attended Hindu temple, while Elyse and Virginia were both Christian. Krishnan was gay and continued to struggle with homophobia in his own family and in the broader South Asian community as an adult, while Elyse and Virginia were both in interracial hetereosexual relationships. However, all three participants were raised in relatively large, tight-knit Asian immigrant communities in

Texas where they regularly spent time with Asian American peers of their same ethnicity and had opportunities to engage in classes and activities that maintained their heritage cultures and languages (Kibria, 2002). These aspects of the participants' identities undoubtedly positioned them in distinct ways that were mostly unexplored in this study.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While there are numerous reasons why social studies is important to both individuals and societies, my preferred reason is quite simple: History is power (Loewen, 2010). This statement succinctly illuminates why so many groups in U.S. society were systematically denied access to their histories in schools, as well as why so many have demanded a re-vision of history education and why the fight for ethnic studies in K-12 schools is ongoing. The social studies curriculum found in most public elementary classrooms omits much-needed discussions of power and race in its Eurocentric narrative of progress. Furthermore, the curricular presence of diverse groups tends to be contained to particular time periods in history (Salinas & Blevins, 2013) without meaningful group interaction (Wills, 1996). I intend for my future social studies research to continue fighting on both of these fronts. Although this study focused heavily on teachers' instructional and curricular decisions, I am very interested in how elementary students respond to the inclusion of diverse and difficult histories, with specific attention to notions of race, identity, and cross-racial understanding and solidarity.

This study focused on Asian American elementary teachers, who comprise a very small portion of the teaching force. I recognize the difficulty of continued study of this population in other contexts, but consider this challenge part of why the research is so

important - in non-West Coast contexts outside of metroplexes, Asian American teachers are more likely to face cultural and ethnic isolation, confront stereotypes, and be viewed as Outsiders. I am eager to study Asian American teachers in rural and suburban contexts, and would like to explore the contrasting experiences of first-generation Asian immigrant teachers with 1.5- and second-generation teachers like those featured in this study. In particular, I am curious as to how language, religion, and the support (or absence) of an Asian immigrant community shape the cultural consciousness and ideological clarity of Asian American teachers across immigrant generations.

I would also like to examine how teachers of color approach the teaching of difficult histories, of their own groups/communities as well as of others. For example, how does a Latinx educator teach about Jim Crow laws? How might a Black educator teach Japanese American incarceration? Do their understandings of intersectionality, culture, and struggle impact their pedagogical and/or curricular choices? Do they highlight examples of cross-racial solidarity? These are questions rarely addressed in elementary classrooms that could have importance consequences for teacher education.

EPILOGUE

The purpose of this dissertation was to illuminate the experiences of Asian American elementary teachers. There were moments during study interviews when the teachers' stories felt like confessionals - I sensed that some of the childhood and classroom experiences they shared with me were stories that some of their closest friends and family might not know. Similarly, I shared cultural and linguistic stories with them that I have not shared with my own friends and family. These moments are examples of

the continued invisibility of Asian American voices and histories and speak to the importance of moving this group of educators from the periphery to the center. After data collection was completed, the participants kept in touch with me, sending messages via social media and text about a variety of things related to the Asian American experience. After this study, we were no longer alone, revealing the power of the shared panethnic experience and the need to establish supportive and reflective communities for Asian American educators.

Writing this epilogue nearly one year after data collection, I continue to debate how I represented the teachers in this study. I hesitated to describe the teachers' missteps, as I recognized the difficulty of teaching histories that are unfamiliar and, in retrospect, certainly recall inaccuracies and blunders in some of the elementary social studies lessons I taught myself many years ago. However, I shared both their successes and challenges in the hope that teachers and teacher educators can learn from our shared mistakes and do better. I know from our continued communication that Elyse, Krishnan, and Virginia have continued to think deeply about how to improve their social studies pedagogy and that our work together was a turning point for each of them. Their willingness to teach historical topics with which they were unfamiliar was courageous and encouraging and I hope I can use their stories, triumphs, and tribulations to inspire other educators.

As I searched for a quote to include in this final chapter of my dissertation, I stumbled upon a poem by Nellie Wong (1981) and my first thought was, "I need to share this with Elyse, Virginia, and Krishnan!" Although our experiences as Asian Americans were distinct in many ways, I felt they would each connect with it in their own way.

Asian Americans are likely not the first image one thinks of when they hear the word "poet." This dissertation insists that we begin to think otherwise.

> when I was growing up, I hungered
> for American food, American styles,
> coded: white and even to me, a child
> born of Chinese parents, being Chinese
> was feeling foreign, was limiting,
> was unAmerican
>
> *When I Was Growing Up,* Nellie Wong

Appendix

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL A (*CULTURAL IDENTITY/SITUATING PARTICIPANTS)*

1. *Background Information:*
    a. Where were you born?
    b. How old are you?
    c. Where do you call 'home'?
    d. Where have you lived?
    e. What are the ways you self-identify? What impacts how you identify?
    f. How do you racially/ethnically identify? What are some of the ways that you express this/these self-identification(s)?
2. What is your family's immigration story?
3. What did you study in university (degrees earned)? What made you decide to choose this career?
   - How did your family/friends feel about this choice? What were some of the things they said to you?
4. *What are some of your earliest memories of…*
   - School?
   a. What was it like being *[Asian American]* in school when you were growing up, are there any things you
   remember specifically that came up about your cultural heritage?
   b. What was your parents' involvement/understanding of schooling like compared to your peers'?
   c. Did you "see" yourself in the books/curriculum of school?
   - Home? Was home life different from school life in any way?
   - Language? What languages do you speak? Where/how did you learn?
   Spaces/places - one language over another?
   – Cultural/religious experiences?
5. What are some of the things you like to do in your free time?
6. What is a typical day/week like for you?
7. What is it like being [South Asian American] in Austin?
8. Is it important to you to maintain your [Asian American]ness? If so, how do you maintain it?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL B (*TEACHER IDENTITY/PHILOSOPHY)*

1. What led you to teaching? Are there any teachers in your family? How did your family/friends react when you decided to pursue a career in education?

2. What certifications do you hold? Did you go through a traditional teacher ed program or alt certification? Do you think your program adequately prepared you for teaching?
3. What grade(s)/subjects do you currently teach? What have you taught in the past? What is your ideal teaching job?
4. How do you envision your role as a teacher? What do you want students to take away from your class?
5. *Describe your current teaching environment.*
    a. School size/student and teacher demographics – Are you the only Asian American teacher? Are there any cultural/religious/ethnic assumptions that parents/faculty make about you?
    b. Class size/student demographics – Do you have any Asian American students? Are there any cultural/religious/ethnic assumptions that students make about you?
    c. Teaching climate – is the faculty close-knit? Motivated? Segregated? Where do you fall into the mix?
    d. Instructional decision-making: Who decides? How are you supervised? What are the expectations for similarity of instructional content across the grade level? Is there a difference between the way/content you want to teach and the way/content you *actually* teach? Why? Do you foresee this as something that will overlap at some point, at this school or elsewhere?
    e. Other (parent interaction, social relationships) – Do you live near your school community? Do you think you understand/relate to your students' personal lives?
    f. Asian American representation – Did you have any Asian American teachers growing up? How did this presence/absence impact you? Do you think your presence as a teacher is something students find surprising or out of the ordinary (non-Asian vs. Asian students)? Do you feel expectations to represent or explain Asian culture/stuff? Do you think your personal story is distinct from your peers and/or students due to your ethnicity/culture/religion? Is your personal story something that you try to share with others? Has your personal experience with Asian culture/immigration/language/etc. impacted the way that you teach or consider particular students (immigrants, English language learners, students of color, etc.)?
    g. How do students/parents/peers respond to your name?
6. *Teaching social studies*

a. What were your experiences/feelings toward American History when you were in school? Did you feel like the stories you heard included people like you?
b. Did your family share stories about their past that were different from what you learned in school?
c. Do you think anything has changed about the way social studies are taught since you were a child?
d. What do you think about the social studies materials that have been available to you as a teacher? Have you seen any improvement since you began teaching? What materials do you use the most? What materials do you enjoy the most? What materials do your students enjoy/engage with the most? What materials do you like the least? What materials do your students like the least?
e. What do you wish you could teach your students about social studies?
f. What do your students seem most interested in regarding social studies?
g. What personal experiences, if any, have colored the way you approach teaching history?
h. Do you think students learn a different version of history at home from what they learn in school?
i. What social studies topics/content would you like to teach differently (or for the first time) this school year?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL C

1. *Citizenship*
   a. What makes a "good" citizen? (W&K, 2004) What are some ways you try to model this for your students? What are some things you do in class to encourage this among your students?
   b. What is the role of community in your classroom? What expectations do you have for your students in your class?
   c. Do you/your school engage in character education? What does that look like?
   d Do you/your school engage in social-emotional learning? What does that look like?
   e. How do you think character ed/SEL play into students' understandings of their role within the classroom community? The school community?
   f. What personal experiences have influenced your approach to these topics?
   g. What do you want your students to leave your classroom knowing/doing?
   h. What do children make decisions about? What do they debate/initiate?
   i. What kind of responsibilities do children have in your classroom?

j. When you think of yourself as citizen, how would you describe your own activity? What loyalties/citizenships do you have?
k. Do you think your family's immigration history influences your interest in matters outside of the U.S.? Is this a perspective that shows in your teaching or the way you see the world?

2. *Lesson Reflections*

a. How did your knowledge/understanding of Asian American history grow this semester?
b. Did you use the binder provided? To what extent?

1. Did the February PD impact your teaching of social studies/language arts? To what extent?
2. What areas/topics in Asian American history did you teach this semester and why did you choose those particular topics? Why did you opt not to teach (examples)? How did you choose the resources you used and what would you do differently?
3. Are there any examples of teaching Asian American history that you are particularly proud of doing? Which ones and why do you feel this way?
4. How did teaching this content challenge you? Any specific examples?
5. Did you find yourself sharing personal stories related to these topics? How did students respond? Was this different in any way from stories you've shared in the past or related to other topics?
6. How do you think your students responded to the Asian American content? Do you recall any specific feedback/comments from students, parents, or teaching peers? Are there any stereotypes or misconceptions that came up or that you initiated yourself?
7. What successes did you achieve with this content? Any specific examples?
8. How do you think you will move forward with this work in the future?
9. How do you define social justice teaching? Do you consider yourself to be a social justice teacher? Why/why not? If so, what role models or peer supports have you had as you've worked toward this goal?
10. How would you respond to someone who says that teaching Asian American history, especially topics like the discrimination faced by Chinese and their ultimate exclusion and the unconstitutional incarceration of Japanese during WWII, is too controversial or makes America look bad?
11. How did our conversations impact your understandings of what it means to be Asian American? Do you look at any things/comments/situations differently?
12. What would you like to learn more about related to Asian American identity, culture, or contributions to American history/society?
13. What do you think your students would like to learn more about related to Asian American identity based on what you recall from your lessons?
14. How do you think Asian American history could be implemented on a wider scale in elementary schools?
15. What elements/resources/understandings do you think are lacking?
16. What elements/resources/supports were most helpful?
17. Any other take-aways?

Figure 5: Krishnan's immigration unit, 3rd grade bilingual. War-torn Aleppo, Syria.

Figure 6: Krishnan's immigration unit, 3rd grade bilingual. Unspecified refugees at camp.

Figure 7: Krishnan's immigration unit, 3rd grade bilingual. Unspecified farmworkers.

Figure 8: Virginia's Japanese American incarceration unit, 2nd grade. Civilian exclusion order #5, posted at First and Front streets, directing removal by April 7 of persons of Japanese ancestry, from the first San Francisco section to be affected by evacuation. Photograph by Dorothea Lange, 1942. Library of Congress LC-USZ62-34565

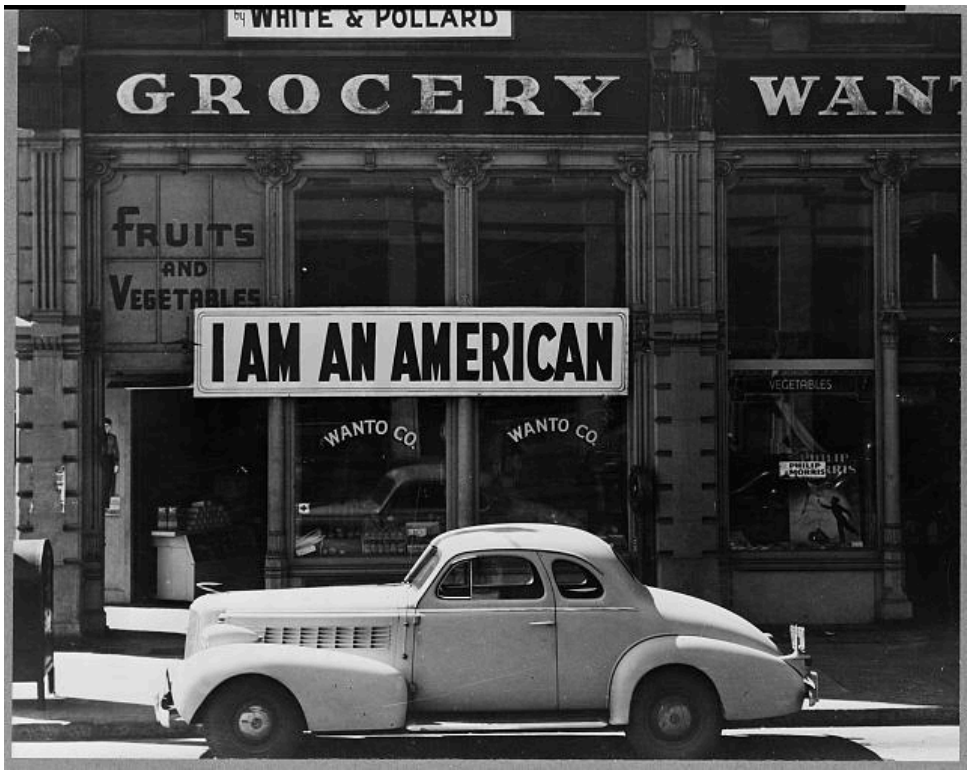


Figure 9: Virginia's Japanese American incarceration unit, 2nd grade. Oakland, Calif., Mar. 1942. A large sign reading "I am an American" placed in the window of a store, at 13th and Franklin streets, on December 8, the day after Pearl Harbor. The store was closed following orders to persons of Japanese descent to evacuate from certain West Coast areas. The owner, a University of California graduate, will be housed with hundreds of evacuees in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration of the war. Photograph by Dorothea Lange, 1942. Library of Congress LC-USZ62-23602

Figure 10: Virginia's Japanese American incarceration unit, 2nd grade. Santa Anita reception center, Los Angeles, California. The evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans from West Coast areas under U.S. Army war emergency order. Registering Japanese-Americans as they arrive. Photograph by Lee Russell, 1942. Library of Congress LC-USF33-013298-M3

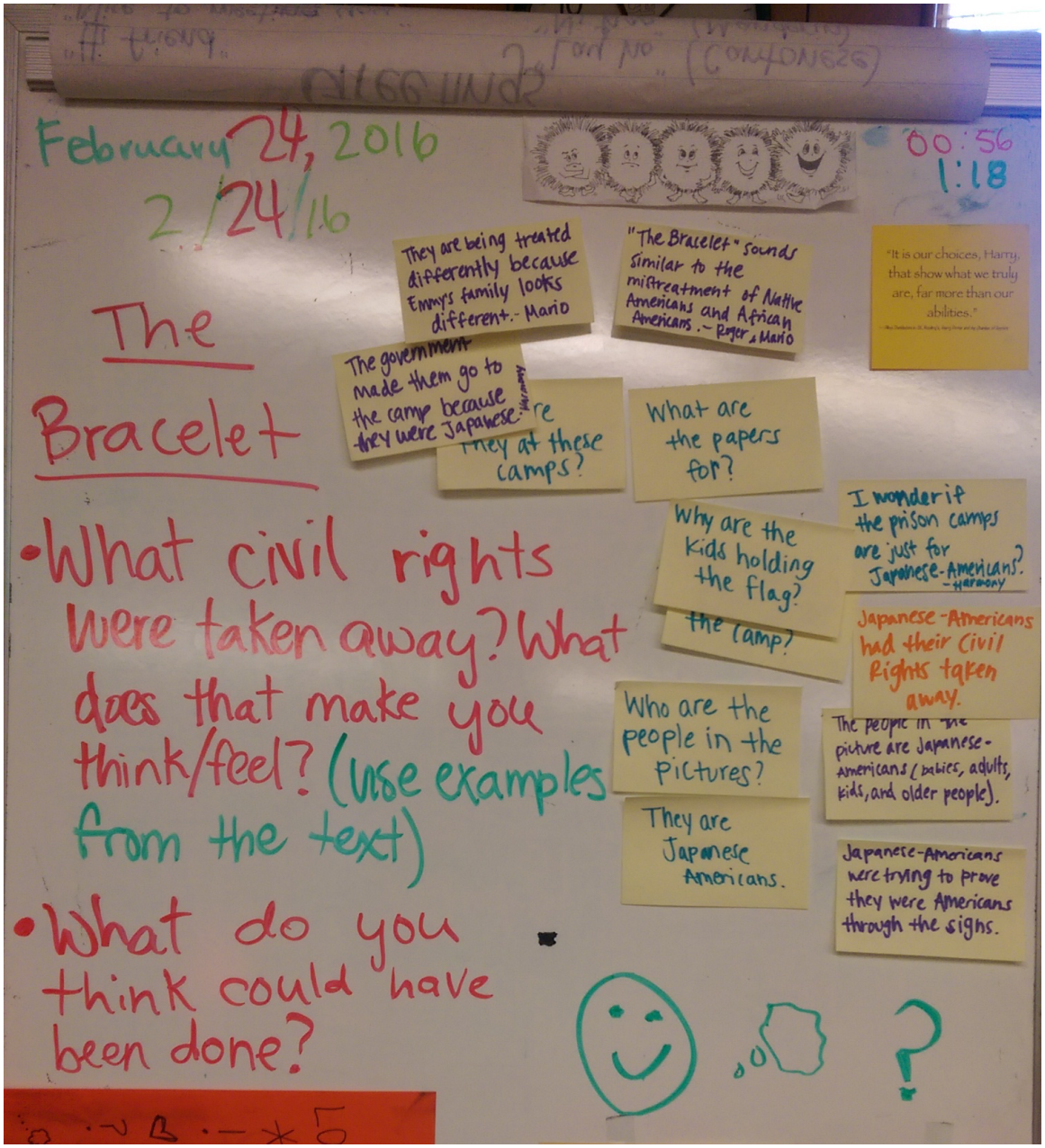


Figure 11: Virginia's Japanese American incarceration unit, 2nd grade. Student-generated questions about primary sources (including Figures 5-7), 2/24/16.

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